

SOCIOLOGY — AND — SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
COMBINING THE JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY
AND BULLETIN OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

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RENE WORMS: AN APPRECIATION

CLARENCE MARSH CASE AND FRED WOERNER¹

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I. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

René Worms was reared in an atmosphere of scholarship created by his father, Emile Worms, whose family had its original seat in Lorraine, and its later residence in Luxembourg, a background which explains his Teutonic name. The elder Worms achieved distinction in law and political economy. His son, René Worms, the subject of this sketch, was born in 1869 and died in 1926, after a career of singular productivity and leadership in the circles of both French and European sociology.

At the outset of his studies he made a brilliant record at the Ecole Normale Supérieure. He was graduated as a qualified instructor ("agrégé") in philosophy, by a competitive examination in which he was pitted against a list of competitors whose names have, many of them, since become famous.² Shortly afterward Worms published *Elements of Scientific and Moral Philosophy* (1891) and *The Moral (System) of Spinoza* (1892), the latter work being crowned by the Institute.

The prospect of a brilliant career in philosophy lay before him, but he was not willing to confine himself to the somewhat narrow limits of such a special field. In the words of his colleague, Achilles Ouy, "A curiosity truly encyclopaedic, a prodigious intellectual activity, impelled

¹ Parts I and III by C. M. C., Part II by F. W.

² *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Vol. 33, Nos. 11-12 (1925) p. 37.

him toward forms of study the most diverse."³ So, after receiving his credentials in philosophy, he won in succession the degrees Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Letters, and Doctor of Science, and finally that of *Agrégé* in Economic Science.

In 1893, Worms entered, through competitive examination, the service of the French government, as an Auditor in the Council of State, from which he finally mounted, through intermediate position, to the office of Councillor of State ("*Conseiller d'Etat*") in 1924.

During these same decades he was equally productive and successful in the academic field. This took the various forms of author, editor, organizer, and teacher along economic, and especially sociological, lines.

As a teacher, René Worms was an officer of Public Instruction; Commander of Agricultural Merit, serving in the section of economic statistics and agricultural legislation; Instructor ("*agrégé*") on the Faculty of Law at the University of Caen; Lecturer on the History of Sociology in L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales; Professor of a course in Sociology at the University of Paris; and Professor of a course on the Philosophy of Commerce in the School of Commerce ("*L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales*").

As an author Worms was astonishingly productive. His colleague already quoted speaks of "the incredible activity and the surprising energy which he displayed throughout his life."⁴ The results of his prodigious labors are embodied in part, and only in part, in the published volumes named in the following list: Elements of Scientific and Moral Philosophy (1891); *Precis of Philosophy* (1891);

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 578.

Concerning Unilateral Will Considered as a Source of Obligation (1891); The Moral System (Morale) of Spinoza (1892); Organism and Society (1896); Studies in Rural Economy and Legislation (1906); The Jurisdiction of the Council of State and Its Present Tendencies (1906); Philosophy of the Social Sciences (1903-'07, Second Edition, 1913); The Biological Principles of Social Evolution (1910); Sexuality in French Births (1912); Agricultural Associations (1914); Natalty and Successoral Regime (1917); Sociology: Its Nature, Content, and Relations (1921).

It was said above that this imposing list represents only in part his intellectual product because a vast lot of his work is scattered in unceasing contributions throughout the first thirty-three volumes of the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, which span the years of his long editorship. Worms founded this great journal toward the end of the year 1892, in what he afterwards referred to as "the confidence of youth." Two years later (1894) he founded the International Institute of Sociology and also the International Sociological Library, an agency for scientific publication of which Worms was able to say, in an editorial, "After Thirty Years," published in 1923, "Authors of all nations have not ceased to offer it their productions."⁵ The final sociological outcome of his extraordinary organizing ability was the Sociology Society of Paris, which he founded in 1895.

One has only to glance through the periodical reports of these organizations, as regularly published in the *Revue*, to perceive that René Worms remained the moving spirit as well as the founder. And this is apparent despite the modesty which always marked his editorial writings; it

⁵ *Revue*, Vol. XXXI: Nos. 1-2 (Jan.-Feb., 1923), p. 1.

necessarily appears in the minutes and reports of those organizations. Thus one reads, in the *Revue* for 1894 (p. 896), a note signed by Worms in which he describes the plan of the proposed International Sociological Library, giving its name, the plan of publication, and the general character of forthcoming volumes, two of which were at that moment in press. He appeals, in the spirit of a true promoter, to readers of the *Revue* for support of the project. In connection with these enterprises he maintained a *Bureau* of the *Revue* where books were deposited. Lists of these were regularly published in the *Revue* itself.

As secretary-general of the International Institute of Sociology, Worms published his thorough and finished reports of its proceedings year after year. In the Sociological Society of Paris he was active from the start, and that his interest was literally lifelong is eloquently shown in these words from Achilles Ouy:

"When he made to me his final recommendations concerning the Sociological Society, the Wednesday which preceded his end, he expressed his desire to live a few hours longer in order to know what was said at the session of the society, which met that same evening! Then, divining no doubt the emotion that agitated me, he wished not himself to yield in the least, and smiling he related to me, in the Greek text, a short passage from the *Phaedo*, on 'the fine hazard of the great departure.' Then, without weakening, he made with the hand a gesture of friendly dismissal, a cordial signal of definite farewell."⁶

II. ABSTRACT OF SELECTED ARTICLES

In the first issue of the *Revue* Worms sets himself at his self-imposed task of defining sociology. He asks "What is a society?" and proceeds to define sociology as the science

⁶ *Revue*, Vol. XXXIII (1925), p. 580.

of societies.⁷ He argues that since other branches of knowledge have a scientific basis, why not sociology? He points out, in the first place, that social facts can be classified as well as others. For instance:

Each Oriental family is a patriarchal state. The father is the absolute ruler in the home. His will is law. The change from the patriarchal ideal has made the modern state possible. The simple extension of this principle to that involving many families was the formation of the state.

The modern family is an element in the social order, while the matriarchy was another. He even includes animal groups as a third element in the social order. The matriarchy followed the animal group, while the family is the more recent and modern.

A little later we find him arguing that sociology may be defined as the search for the fundamentals of social life, and their classification. In reality it includes all the social sciences, which are therein gathered together, fully grouped, and coordinated.⁸ Thus to the criticism that "sociology is the study of the origins of societies," he replies that the origin of society should not be the sole object of sociology. There is much more to the study of sociology than mere societary origins.⁹ The present comes in for its share also.

Worms proposed a division of sociology into descriptive and comparative.¹⁰

In the September-October number, 1893, of the *Revue*,¹¹ Worms attempted a classification of the social sciences, in

⁷ "La Sociologie," *Revue*, I, 1 (1893). "La sociologie est la science des societes."

⁸ *Revue*, I, 2 (1893).

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ "La Sociologie," *op. cit.*, 1 (1893). "Nous proposons—sociologie descriptive et comparée."

¹¹ "Essai de Classification des Sciences Sociales," I, 5 (1893), p. 438.

the course of which he points out that a distinction must be made between the sciences and the arts:

A social science is the study of a certain number of social facts, just as they are; the corresponding social art is an attempt to organize and to regulate these same facts as one would have them. Social science operates by induction . . . the social art operates by deduction."

Morality ("*la morale*"), justice and religion are the arts which hope to regulate human conduct. Morality, the sense of justice, and religion confine human conduct to the paths that are best for society as a whole.

It is very difficult to separate the social sciences from the other sciences. The climate, the richness of the soil, and many other factors, have their effect upon the individual, who is a unit of society. A study of the individual is not sociology, but a study of the race and the individuals that compose it can properly be termed sociology. Sociology includes ethnographical and anthropological studies, and a psychological and linguistic examination is only a small part of sociology.

It is first necessary to visualize the average man ("*l'homme moyen*") in order to see the whole population in its entirety; secondly to make a demographic study of society—the number, the density of the population, births, deaths, marriages, diseases, etc., and lastly, the *group* must be visualized—families, races, cities, provinces, professions, social classes and religions. This is the *anatomy* of society.

The *physiology* of society includes: (1) Economic sociology, which is the manner, circulation, and production of wealth; (2) juridical sociology ("*sociologie juridique*") which includes (a) aesthetic, (b) moral, and (c) religious facts; and (3) intellectual sociology ("*sociologie intellectuelle*") which may be divided into (a) aesthetic, (b) mor-

al, (c) religious, and finally (d) into a sociology which can properly be called intellectual. In the end it is necessary to visualize man in all his aspects toward the state. Political sociology may well be included here.

Science is a study of facts as they are, while art is an effort to organize the facts as one would have them. Sociology he again defines as a general science of societies.¹² And as such it finds it necessary to study the human group as a whole. The *anatomy* of the social body might be defined as the study of the men composing a given society, including the race to which the individual belongs and the groups—families, cities, etc., into which it is divided. Social *physiology* would deal with the functions of a society, the economic phenomena, the relationship of the birth rate to the death rate, morals, religions, arts, and sciences. Sociology should classify all groups and determine the general laws of the evolution of social phenomena and the effect they produce. It is necessary to study the anatomy of society before the physiology of society.¹³ "Sociology is the general science of societies."¹⁴

Sociology ought to embrace all societies of all times and places. It attaches great importance to social origins, to questions relating to the primitive form of the family and ownership of property. In order to understand the present state we shall have to study the ancient.

Sociology ought to study, not alone all societies, but also all the social facts. Since there exists a solidarity in all the manifestations of a social life, the same ought to establish a solidarity among all the social sciences. Sociology is a science closely related to the science of economics.

¹² "... une science general des societes."

¹³ "La Sociologie et l'Economie politique," *Revue*, II (1894), 436, 439.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

Worms has confidence in the spontaneous evolution of society, for he writes:

It is impossible to touch a single cell of the social organism, it seems to be so tender, without disturbing all the rest; the least disturbance has its effect at the very midst and at all points; consequently, before attempting a reform of any character whatsoever, it may be necessary to examine it with the closest attention, in order to determine whether it may be excluded from the series of phenomena, even though it seems quite unrelated . . . this inspires us with confidence in the spontaneous evolution of society.¹⁵

Sociology throws light upon the integrality of social phenomena. Sociology cannot pass for any particular social science, neither ought it to absorb all the social sciences. Worms believes that sociology is nothing other than the history of human societies scientifically organized, just as biology is nothing more than the history of the species as organized by men of science.¹⁶

The multiple individual is a general man ("*un homme général*") like unto all the members of the human species: a temporary man ("*un homme temporaire*") is comparable with all persons who live in his time and are a part of the same society: and finally the distinct man ("*l'homme singulier*") who, by his particular differences, is distinguished from his nearest neighbors. The general man and the temporary man are drawn from a multiple example which constitutes an institution. The distinct man is only a single exigency.

Worms agrees that these distinctions are always somewhat arbitrary. In general, it is always necessary to go as far as the individual; and to penetrate the individual without losing him is the task of the historian.

¹⁵ "L'Organization scientifique de l'Histoire," *Revue*, II, 9 (1894), pp. 641, 643.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Historical methods are (1) inductive, which observes the effects and their causes and by generalization reduces these phenomena to laws; and (2) deductive, which considers the general man and analyzes his needs. The methods of experimentation in the field of human society, even if there are generalizations, unhappily change nothing. The life of a man of the people is more interesting than that of a sovereign, because it repeats itself in thousands and even in millions of examples, and it is these thousands and millions of existences, though humble, that are the existence of the social organism itself.¹⁷

Morality, law, and religion were born little by little, to assure security to men, the utilization of social wealth, and the replacement of that already consumed. The historian follows the new institutions in their development, their perfecting, and their successive transformations, but he ought never to forget that they originated from economic phenomena and from " . . . *le mouvement humain avec tout son fracas.*"

Society should be studied by two methods: (1) the elements into which it is plunged—vegetation, animals, climate, productions, mineral resources and so forth; and (2) the composition of this same society—number, division, families, tribes, cities, provinces, etc. Before the dynamic study, which is the study of society in motion, the static should take place: the static being the study of society in its constitutive elements.

The historian has two elements to study in a society: the individuals that make up the society, and the material upon which their efforts are exercised. In order to understand a society, it is necessary to hunt for the elements into which it is plunged and its composition. For each society

¹⁷ "L'Organization scientifique de l'Histoire," *Revue*, II, 9 (1894), pp. 650-51.

studied there is an internal and an external mean. A state must be examined in relation to its neighbors. If we do not understand a certain institution, we cannot understand a certain society. Descriptive and comparative sociology include these methods.

Sociology is nothing more than the synthesis of the individual social sciences. Science is an examination of things as they are, while art is a search for things as they might or ought to be. The scientific attitude, which is the analysis, comes first, and then the synthesis. In a word, sociology ought to be conceived as the sum of the social sciences, or simply as the synthesis of their results in the most general form, and each of these different sciences must establish a reason for its being and its usefulness. Sociology can only advance, as Worms writes, when supported by "*l'histoire de droit et de droit comparee*." It is founded upon the vestiges of their juridical institutions ("*. . . leur institutions juridiques*").

He recommended the creation of definite laboratories for the study of sociology and advocated the creation of a faculty of social sciences in each of the French universities—concrete and descriptive; abstract and comparative.

The chairs under the caption of Descriptive Sociology should be as follows: (1) Infra-human society—vegetable and animal; (2) origins of, and prehistoric society; (3) Africa; (4) Oceania; (5) extreme Orient; (6) Turks, Tartars, etc.; (7) Semitic; (8) ancient Aryan; (9) European-Christian and Renaissance; and (10) society since the 17th century.

Comparative Sociology was to have the following chairs or faculties: (1) Comparative anatomy of sociology, to be divided into (a) comparative geography; (b) comparative anthropology; (c) comparative demography; and (d) social histology. While under the division of (2) physiology

of society, which is the activity, life, reproduction, and nutrition of human society, he has: (a) the production of wealth; (b) the distribution of wealth; (c) its circulation and consumption; and probably chairs of (d) marriage; (e) family life; and (f) education of children. There were to be 26 chairs in all, including religion, customs, etc. A chair of general sociology might be added. A College of France should be created, not to give diplomas, but to be related to the other departments.¹⁸

Social economy (*"l'economie sociale"*) occupies itself with the relationship of capital and labor. It is political economy permeated with the principles of sociology.

Political economy is transformed into social economy, when it admits, among other things, that economic phenomena ought to be incessantly associated with all other social phenomena, and that these should be of the intellectual (*"l'ordre intellectuelle"*), political, judicial, or any other class.¹⁹

The word society implies the idea of a complex unity or a togetherness of beings, united by a bond of which they have, at least to some degree, knowledge. When these beings happen to be human, which is the most interesting case, the bonds are formed by certain likenesses, more or less pronounced:

1. Place of habitation;
2. Education and language;
3. Race;
4. Occupation (There is a division of labor and the tasks of the members of the same society are varied, but they all work together to accomplish a great collective task—that is coordination—and hence there is rather a likeness of occupations.);

¹⁸ "Une Faculte des Sciences Sociales," *Revue*, III, 11 (1895), p. 926.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, VI, 6 (1898), p. 455 ff.

5. Domestic life and family customs;
6. Conception of moral, religious, aesthetic, and technical practices;
7. Judicial and political rule.

The "*associes*" need not feel very near one to the other, but it is necessary that among themselves they do not feel complete strangers, one toward another.

The human species is only an anthropological expression. Each nation differs from its neighbors in territory, climate, and productions, and forms an ethnic unity which one may call a secondary race. National types have resulted from the coalescence of several small original races.

Every nation, especially by education, has given its members a collective spirit ("*esprit collectif*"), that is to say, a manner of seeing things, and a language, a vehicle of this like thinking.

Worms contends that from the foregoing classifications it is easily seen that in order to understand society we must decompose the human race into its respective nations, but that is hardly sufficient. It is very difficult to decide just what forms a society. Nations like France, England, Italy, and the United States do not form a society. The different peoples of Central Europe do.²⁰

In Australia and America, we find the indigenous tribes living isolated. Worms believes that they constitute separate and distinct societies, for, although such cases are becoming more and more rare, they have borrowed nothing from their neighbors, neither have they been affected by European civilization. In Africa the independent groups are extremely numerous. There is a society of Kaffirs, of Hottentots, and many others, besides a society of "Dahomeene," "Peule," etc.

Villages having their own chiefs are not societies, for their customs, ideas, and government are alike. Society is

²⁰ "Le Concepte de Societe," *Revue*, XI, 2 (1903), p. 84.

a collective unity whose existence is necessary to maintain the individual lives. A whole nation is actually contained in this whole unity.²¹

In a nation the division of work separates the individuals, but the necessary exchange of their products reunites them. The existing solidarity is not a legal bond, but it is spontaneous and voluntary.

It would be much better if business, benevolent, scientific, fine arts, sport, political and religious "societies" were simply named *associations*, in order to avoid any possible confusion.

The limits of a society need not be more restricted than those of the corresponding state, but might they not be more inclusive? The partition of Poland among Germany, Austria, and Russia separated the Poles, but the first six of the captions before enumerated apply to all the Poles. How well, is borne out by the restoration of a present united Poland!

There appear to be certain other groupings of international interests which Worms wishes to call societies, for instance, the social classes. But he does not believe that Judaism, Catholicism, or Mohammedanism constitute societies.

He concludes that it is not the similitude of rank, nor that of occupation or belief, nothing except the belief that the national frontiers are a complete unity which nothing can efface, that effects national unity; neither can anything replace the fatherland. A nation which is politically organized constitutes a society and corresponds to a state, but that is not to say of course that the terms "people," "state," "nation," and "society" are synonymous.

The terms "people" and "nation" designate a group viewed in its structure. The terms "society" and "state"

²¹ *Ibid.*

are used when a group is viewed in its function. A social group is called a "people" when it is considered as simply existing, and it is called a "state" or "society" when considered as living. A nation is a people ordained; a state is a society disciplined by laws.²²

The first society was the family. Several families, without losing all their individuality, gathered together in a much larger group which had its chiefs and common gods; this was the ward.²³ Next came the tribe, and finally several tribes assembled to form the city, for instance, Athens, Sparta, Rome. Soon the empire, of which Rome was an example, made its appearance. The invading barbarian tribes broke down the empire and produced the actual social type, the nation.²⁴

Neglecting the intermediate types of family, city, empire, and nation, Worms could not determine whether we are being carried forward toward a unitary or pluralistic form of society. Whether the human species is ever destined to form only one society, the future and some far distant date can alone reveal.

It can easily be seen that Worms' definition of society slowly changed as the years went by. He tried to pin it down to something definite, and in so doing tried to bring scientific terms and principles into sociology. However, he realized that sociology could not be defined so clearly as some of the exact sciences. It was broader, and covered to some extent the fields of the other social sciences.

He sought to make history, economics, physiology, psychology, biology, botany, anatomy, religion, and philosophy shed light upon the problems of sociology.

²² "Le Concept de Societe," *Revue*, XI, 2 (1903), pp. 89, 90.

²³ "C'est la phatrie ou la curie."

²⁴ "Le Concept de Societe," *Revue*, XI, 2 (1903), p. 92.

III. CRITICAL REMARKS

René Worms expands into a large figure as one runs over the record of his manifold activities, all actuated, as they were, by a most extraordinary devotion to the cause of sociology. His rôle was that of pioneer founder, organizer, research scholar, teacher, author, editor, and interpreter. In all this the resemblance between his career and that of Albion W. Small in this country is self-evident and impressive. One almost feels like calling him the French Small, or the Dean of French Sociology. He was its virtual chairman, its unofficial presiding officer, its never-failing champion and expounder, but no less its frank and uncompromising critic. Let anyone who questions this, run through the thirty volumes of the *Revue* as they accumulate year by year under his guidance, and he will realize how true it is that Worms cannot be known by a cross-section, or even a summary, of his writings, but by a sort of moving picture, a life-film or reel a "*cinématique*," to use a term of his own, covering thirty and more very busy years.

The long list of his books named on a preceding page conveys in itself a notion of the wide range of his interests, but of course one can find in his numerous articles, as abstracted in section two of this paper, many of the ideas that were afterward expanded into those volumes.

Most of Worms' work in the Paris society and on the *Revue* was necrological, aside from his multitudinous book reviews and quite frequent articles. In the *Revue* for 1903, he prints under the caption, "After Ten Years," his first retrospect and prospect, and in so doing gives, perhaps inadvertently in part, a vivid impression that the *Revue* itself and related activities represent the very pioneer movements of contemporary sociological thought. He says: "When the first number appeared, with the date Jan-

uary-February 1893, even the name of sociology was not at all strongly held in honor, and the ideas which it called up inspired some consternation in the scientific milieus." An eminent advisor even counselled the young editor to call the projected journal a "Review of the Social Sciences" rather than by the sociological title, to which Worms held undaunted. At the end of the first decade he was able to say that he did not regret that he failed to defer to that advice.

Like the young Sir Galahad, like Small or Ward, not to mention Comte, whom he so often quotes, the youthful sociologist sallied forth in all confidence and enthusiasm for the great new science. "Sociology," he declared, "is not any one of the special sciences. It draws from them its data, but it combines their materials in order to make a new edifice. It recreates the unity of the social world which is shattered by these fragmentary studies."²⁵

This might well be from the pen of Small himself, although it was "the conception of sociology which is little by little being evolved through the researches pursued in this *Revue*" over which Worms was presiding.²⁶ After speaking of the growing abundance of sociological writings in both hemispheres, with the rise of the *American Journal of Sociology*, and the *Revista Italiana di Sociologia*, Worms adds, with reference to his pioneer *Revue*: "But it is permissible to say that those (journals) have taken their model from it, in a certain measure at least. And besides, is not the actual abundance of sociological writings the consequence of a movement of which it has been the initiator?"²⁷

²⁵ *Revue* (1903), p. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

In the thought of Worms it was the *Revue* which served as the generating center of sociological power in France and in the wider circle of which that country seemed to be the center. "If it has thus in some sort swarmed, in provoking the birth of periodicals more or less analogous to itself, the *Revue* has on the other hand served as a base for the creation of organs of another sort, but no less profitable to the progress of sociology." He then recites how several of the more eminent collaborators, who were known by grace of it, formed a sort of special Academy, the International Institute of Sociology, before the end of the first year of the new periodical was completed. The Institute at once began the publishing of its annual volumes, and a little later certain of its members and associates, organized in the Sociology Society of Paris, became the "authors of a collection of works devoted to similar researches: the International Sociological Library" ("*La Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale*"). It thus appears that Worms was the first of pioneers in the world of strictly sociological journals and societies.

Since he was the founder and a presiding genius of the Paris society throughout three decades, we may be permitted to assume that its activities are also his activities. In that case Worms may be counted a trail-breaker along the line of the study of occupational types, if not of attitudes. Thus one observes that the Society, although it began its monthly sessions with four discussions on social life in the United States and three on the social rôle of woman, launched forth, well within its first year, into a long series of discussions on the general theme of "Professional Types," treating in turn the following occupations: the male worker; the female worker; the employer ("*le patron*") ; the soldier; the sailor; the official ("*le fonctionnaire*") ; the magistrate; the judge; the advocate; the phy-

sician; the engineer; the speculator ("*le boursier*"); the school-teacher; the professor; the scientist; the student; the man of letters; the woman of letters; the poet; the journalist; the dramatic author; the musician; the politician ("*l'homme politique*"); the diplomat; the colonial.

In his sociological thinking Worms was philosophical and biological in so far as the line of approach was concerned, but when arrived on his own ground he was always distinctly sociological, in the sense that he was interested in social phenomena for their own sake, and that he constantly insisted on the broadly human and scientifically catholic point of view. The conception of sociology with which he set out is consistent with that which he used throughout and restated near the end. Thus he writes in his latest work, *Sociology: Its Nature, Content and Relations*, published in 1921: "There are some merits, but there are also several advantages, in knowing how to limit oneself. Sociology ought to do it, if it wishes to live in peace with its neighbors and find in them allies. Let us then advise it not to go beyond their frontiers and to content itself, so to say, with 'flying over' them ("*survoler*"). Let us conclude by saying that we prefer to define it not as the integrality of the social sciences, but their synthesis."²⁸

In his article entitled "Psychology, Collective and Individual," published in the *Revue* during 1899, Worms clearly anticipates Durkheim, when he derives the *reason* from the *social life*. The classical definition of reason as the power to form general ideas, and the popular notion that it is the faculty of forming right ("*juste*") decisions in daily life are harmonized in the following: "It is precisely because it has had a social origin that this reason has been able to possess from the first a social value, that it

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

has been able to serve for the first men, as for their successors, as a guide in life."²⁹ The context of this sentence expounds most clearly the origin of words as *collective representations*, although he does not use exactly that expression. How near he does come to doing so appears in this: "But words themselves are not produced by a purely individual effort. They are the work of the human collectivity: language is a social function par excellence. . . . We understand thus that it is through a social process—that of the formation and the transmission of signs spoken or written that general ideas, which are the content of the reason, are multiplied and perfected."³⁰

An interesting contribution of Worms has to do with the nature of social psychology. It was in the *Revue* for 1899, as above noted, that he published his paper on "Psychology, Collective and Individual." In this essay he contrasted the "spirit" of the nation, the family, and the profession. The social mind he finds to be simply a consensus of the minds of the individuals possessing *common* heredity, or environment, or professional interests. This idea he expanded in his *Sociology* in 1921. There he made a threefold distinction of considerable interest and value between "three kinds of psychology: that of the human race, or general psychology; that of groups, or collective psychology; that of persons, or individual psychology."³¹

The remarks of Worms on these three sorts of psychology are exceedingly pertinent and discriminating. He points out that the kind of psychology taught in the schools, and often called "individual" psychology to distinguish it from collective psychology, has been very badly named.

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 265.

³⁰ *Revue* (1899), p. 265.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

"For there is nothing individual in the least about such a study. Far from bearing on the individual, it treats on the contrary of that which is common to all individuals, of that which is identical in them all." He proposes to call this study "general" or "human" psychology.

"Collective" psychology he does not regard as an ideal term but adopts it from current usage, and defines it as the study of the traits which are common to the members of a group and common only to them. Examples are the nation, village, profession, class, and association. "Individual" psychology is the study of those traits which appertain to an individual and to him only. "Those latter constitute his original characters, his unique difference. They are those which biographies most readily place in evidence." After these illuminating analyses, Worms concludes: ". . . to stop with human psychology is of necessity to see and describe only abstract generalities. To envisage the character of different groups is already to produce work more complex and more concrete. To take account of individual differences is to go to the end of this last road."³²

In these passages Worms would seem to have laid a strong theoretical foundation for the personal life-history method in social research. And while his point of view was always the broadly philosophical one, strikingly similar once more to Small, he showed an equal sense for concrete facts. For instance, in his article on "A Laboratory of Sociology," published in the *Revue* during 1895, one finds him at that early date (extremely early from the standpoint of social research) describing in detail his plan for a research laboratory of sociology. So far in advance of his times was his thought in this respect that laboratories such as he proposed are only now being developed at a few

³² *La Sociologie: Sa Nature, Son Contenu, Ses Attachés*, by René Worms. Paris, 1921; pp. 134-136.

universities, mostly if not solely in the United States, such as those at the University of Chicago and the University of Southern California. In the same article Worms outlines clearly the logical methods of social research.³³

Worms gave considerable attention in one place or another to social evolution, but later accorded it a minor position. "It is necessary," he writes, "to study together the origins and the present condition of human societies. But, in our thought, the study of the present condition is the more fruitful. It is also of a more direct practical interest."³⁴ He began his career under the influence of organicist views but later modified them, as recorded in a footnote in his last book, in which he says: "We adopted the principles of the organicist theory and even developed them in a volume appearing in 1896 and entitled *Organisme et société*. Study, experience, and reflection have finally taught us to limit the adherence which we had once given, or rather to make place, beside it, for principles quite distinct." He then points out that it found only attenuated expression in his later works and the (then) present one, expressing the hope to distinguish, in a second edition of *Organisme et société*, that part in the organicist theory which has lapsed and that which remains.³⁵

His thinking seems to have moved from the bio-sociological toward the psycho-sociological position. In *Sociologie* he devotes a chapter to a discussion of "The Fundamental Social Fact," and concludes: "All that is social, in our eyes, which involves the concurrence (*"concours"*) of a plurality of individuals. Concurrence is not a simple contact, it implies an activity in common, a cooperation."

³³ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 777-789, especially 788.

³⁴ *Sociology*, p. 32.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Moreover it is so far from merely physical consorting that "we recognize moreover that it exists even where one does not find himself in presence of a single being, in the case where such a one acts clearly under the influence of one or several distant men."³⁶

Worms quotes Comte frequently and always with respect, but he corrects and supplements him at various points, notably with reference to his famous division of sociology into social statics and social dynamics. This Worms finds to be an incorrect use of the terms even as understood in the field of mechanics at the time. Mechanics, says Worms, "divides itself into three parts: statics, dynamics, and cinematics. (*"la cinématique"*). It is cinematics which constitutes the study of movements, and not dynamics." In view of the fact that Comte was a professor of mathematics and mechanics, "One is astonished then that he had not believed it necessary to call social cinematics the study of social movements, and that he should have given to that study the name of social dynamics, without elsewhere explaining himself on that disregard of received terms."³⁷ For his own part, Worms is clear in the use of these terms. He holds that societies begin under organic laws, they "progress next through a mode more specifically human, directing themselves toward an ideal conceived by the mind, an ideal of justice, peace, liberty, and light. They tend through this to realize between their members an equality and a contractual solidarity." Such an evolution involves social cinematics. "It shows the transformation of causes into effects, through the succession of phenomena."³⁸

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 63, 101.

This article cannot aspire, however, to be an adequate account of the sociological system of René Worms. It is merely a sketch and an appreciation of his long and eminent leadership in the field of sociological endeavor. His prodigious industry has already been mentioned. It characterized him from the start and was sustained to the end. The volumes of the *Revue* contain 243 reviews of French works from his pen, also 9 of books in English, 3 in Spanish, and 1 in Italian. This in addition to his numerous editorials, reports, articles, and notices. During the later years of his editorship Worms confined himself, in the *Revue*, largely to necrological accounts, in many cases it doubtless falling to him to preside at the close of sociological careers over whose opening he had exerted an encouraging where not a presiding influence, as editor, commentator, executive, or collaborator. Selecting only part of the list we find him saying the closing words, always both gracious and graceful, for such eminent scholars as Letourneau, Lilienfeld, Spencer, Schaeffle, Tarde, Gumplowicz, Levasseur, Novicow, Fouillée, Ward, Lubbock, De Roberty, Tylor, Durkheim, Espinas, and De Greef.

Among many other such tasks there fell to him in 1918 the sad and heavy duty of writing the scientific obituary of his own father, Emile Worms.

He was an honored Contributing Editor on the staff of this JOURNAL, and it is only fitting that one who never failed to pay generous tribute to the work of others should be accorded this sincere though inadequate tribute to his noble character, his unusually gifted mind, and his almost incomparably productive life.

POPULATION PROBLEM IN CHINA

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THERE HAS been a great deal of controversy over the population problem in China. In his *Doctrine of Nationalism*, Dr. Sun Yat-sen declared that the Chinese population has been gradually decreasing, while that of the Western countries has multiplied many times during the last century, and that unless China increases her population as fast as the West, she will not be able to survive in the struggle of nations. On the other hand, the "new feminalists" in China, as well as such noted writers as Professor E. A. Ross, and others, attribute the present political, economic, and social troubles in this country to over-population, and urge the voluntary limitation of population as the immediate solution.

In discussing this problem, the first difficulty is the lack of accurate statistics. For example, the 1910 estimate of the Ministry of the Interior placed the population of the 18 provinces at 331,188,000. In the same year, the Post Office estimate placed the population of the 18 provinces at 438,425,000. There was a discrepancy of nearly 100,000,000.

THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION

We get the information concerning Chinese population from the following sources:

1. The reports of the *Hu Pu*, or the Bureau of Population, and the *Min Cheng Pu*, or the Ministry of Interior of the Ching dynasty.

A system of *Pao-Chia* was instituted during the time of Chien Lung in order to protect the villages from bandits, and to find out on the part of the government those anti-Manchu revolutionaries who might be hidden in unknown quarters. Under that system, each 10 families constituted a *pi*, each 10 *pi*, a *chia*, and each 10 *chia*, a *pao*; and the chief of the *pao* was required by the *hsien*, magistrate, to report to him every three months the status of the population of his *pao*. Then the provincial governors gathered the population reports from different *hsien*, and forwarded them to the Central Government.

2. The Post Office estimates.
3. The Customs reports.
4. The report of the Cabinet Office during the Chinese Republic.
5. Individual population surveys.

The writer has in hand about twenty such studies.

None of the above sources is thoroughly reliable. The best we can do is to gather all this information and give the best judgment to it. At present, the Nationalist Government at Nanking is devising a nation-wide population survey. I do not see, however, any immediate possibility of putting this scheme into practice for two reasons, first, the government lacks adequate funds, and second, the transportation system in the country has not been unified, and local governments have not yet been effectively placed under the control of the Ministry of Interior.

THE TOTAL SIZE OF THE CHINESE POPULATION

The total size of the Chinese population is a mystery. The following figures are interesting:

<i>Min Cheng Pu's</i> estimate, 1910	342,639,000	Whole of China
Cabinet Office's estimate, 1912	377,642,423	excepting Mongolia
Custom's report, 1923	444,968,000	21 provinces
Post Office report, 1923	436,094,953	21 provinces
Post Office report, 1926	485,508,838	21 provinces
China Continuation Committee's Report, 1917-1918	440,925,000	
<i>Annuaire General de la France et de l'etranger</i> , 1924	436,709,204	
<i>Jahrbuch für Wirtschaft, Politik und Arbeiterbewegung</i> , 1924	Between 400,- and 500,000,000	
(<i>Russian Viess mir</i>), 1924	445,195,000	

Estimates by individuals, such as that of Rockhill, Willcox, Chen Chi-hsiu, and Chen Chang-heng, place China's population from 325,000,000 up to 547,000,000.

Based upon the above estimates, it is fairly safe to say that the present population of China is between 400,000,000 and 500,000,000.

Accordingly, the population of China is larger than the population of France by 11 times, of the British Isles by 10 times, of the United States of America by 4 times, of Japan by 7 times, of Germany by 7 times, of Italy by 11 times, of Spain by 22 times, and of Belgium by 60 times. The Chinese population is one-third larger than the British Isles, Japan, Italy, France, Belgium, and the United States put together.

THE RATE OF INCREASE IN CHINESE POPULATION

As far as our studies show, the Chinese population is not increasing rapidly. A study of the Chinese population from 1741 to 1923 in the 22 provinces was recently made by Mr. Chen Chang-heng. The conclusion of the study is that from 1741 to 1793, the rate of increase was 15.14 per

thousand; from 1793 to 1849, the rate of increase was 4.95; from 1849 to 1923, the rate of increase was 0.81. Although this study is not thoroughly reliable, it nevertheless shows that since the 18th century, the rate of increase of Chinese population has declined very rapidly. The highest rate of increase, i.e., 1741-1793, is not higher than the high rate of increase in western countries today. The rate of increase during the third period, 1849-1923, i.e., 0.81 per thousand, is lower than any other country, with possibly the exception of France during the years 1910-1914. At the present time, the population of Japan is increasing annually at about 12 per thousand, and the population of the United States at about 15 per thousand, whereas the population of China is increasing at less than one per thousand. Mr. G. H. Gribbs estimated that the white people of European origin have a rate of increase of 12 per thousand per year, the white people of non-European origin, 8 per thousand, the yellow people, 3 per thousand, the brown people, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per thousand, and the black people, 5 per thousand. Mr. Chen's study shows that, from 1800 to 1923, the average rate of increase in the 22 provinces in China is 3.22. His study falls in nicely with Mr. Gribbs' estimate. This means that it will take 216 years for the Chinese to double their population; or, if we take the average rate of increase between 1849 and 1923, i.e., 0.81 per thousand, it will take 895 years for China to double her population. At the present, the population of China constitutes one-fourth of the world's population, while the annual increase of the Chinese population is less than one-eighth of the annual increase in the world's population.

THE DENSITY OF THE CHINESE POPULATION

According to the Post Office estimate of 1923, the density of the population in the 21 provinces was 238, and the

density of the population in China, including Mongolia, Tibet, and Sinkiang, was 104 per square mile. The density of the population in China is lower than that of Belgium, England, Japan, Italy, Germany, and possibly, India. There are other estimates of the density of the Chinese population, but they are omitted here on account of space. At present, the population of the world is about 1,800,000,000, and this occupies 57,255,000 square miles. The population of China occupies about 25 per cent, or one-fourth of the world's population, and this population constitutes only 7.6 per cent, or one-thirteenth of the world's inhabited areas, including Chinese Outer Territories. Many people maintain that China could solve her poverty problems through the development of agriculture and colonization. According to government statistics, only 14.8 per cent of our land is cultivated. Using this as a basis, I venture to calculate the cultivated density of the Chinese population at 1,165 per square mile. We can realize the economic significance of the cultivated density of the Chinese population of the Chinese population by the following comparison:

<i>Cultivated Density</i>	<i>Per Square Mile</i>
Japan	2,482
China, 22 provinces	1,165
Belgium	1,020
Italy	790
England	585
Germany	479
France	280

The problem of Japan and Belgium is well known. The problem of China is no less serious than that of Belgium. According to the best calculation, the cultivated land can be extended not more than 100 per cent beyond the present

cultivated area, even taking into consideration Mongolia, Tibet, Manchuria, and Sinkiang. Thus, at the best, we cannot reduce our cultivated area less per square mile than 585. In other words, we can never expect to have a lesser population pressure, under the most favorable agricultural conditions, than that of England.

Various studies show that the density of Chinese villages ranges from 800 to 3,000 per square mile. The Chinese population is very unevenly distributed; for instance, the density of Kiangsu is 875, of Chekiang 601, of Shantung 552, of Honan 454; and the density of Mongolia and Sinkiang 2, of Tibet 14, of Kansu 47, of Yunnan 67, and of Manchuria 61. Six-sevenths of China's population is congested into one-third of her territories. The population centers are the Yang-tse Valley, the North China Plain, the Red Basin of Szechwan, and the Southeast Coast. According to our rough calculation, 66 per cent of our population lives in villages below 2,500, 22 per cent in towns between 2,500 and 10,000, 6 per cent in small cities between 10,000 and 50,000, and 6 per cent lives in large cities above 50,000. This shows that the population of China is predominantly rural.

BIRTH RATE AND DEATH RATE

I have a number of studies in hand as to birth and death rate in China. I cannot go into detail regarding these studies at present, but will give the tentative conclusion that the birth rate in China is about 30 per thousand per year, and the death rate is also about 25 to 30 per thousand per year. The rate of natural increase in Chinese population since 1920 is about 3 per thousand, and the infant mortality is about 200 per thousand. This high birth and death rate is largely due to lack of education, industrial backwardness, and lack of public health and sanitation. Our birth

rate is lower than that of Russia, Japan, and India, and slightly higher than that of Italy. Our death rate is the highest in the world, with the exception of India. The infant mortality is two times too high in comparison with such countries as America and England. The fact that our population is not increasing rapidly seems to prove that the population of the 18 provinces has reached its saturation point. A health study shows also that, of excess deaths in China, 35 per cent are due to intestinal trouble, 15 per cent to smallpox, 15 per cent to tuberculosis, and 35 per cent are due to all other causes which can be prevented through proper health and medical control. Various studies show that the average length of life in China is between 22 and 30.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE CHINESE POPULATION

The composition of the population includes sex, age, marital status, occupation, and race.

First, by sex ratio we mean the number of males in comparison with 100 females. Before the war, the sex ratio of the European population was about 106 males in proportion to 100 females. The sex ratio in America in 1920 was 104 in proportion to 100. The sex ratio in Japan in 1925 was about 101 to 100. The sex ratio in the Chinese population is rather abnormal, i.e., approximately 110 to 100. A predominant proportion of male babies is born in China. This may be due to two reasons, first, the unfavorable living conditions of the Chinese people tend to encourage biologically the birth of male children, and second, the social surveyors have always serious difficulties in getting accurate information concerning female children in China.

Second, the composition of age in the Chinese population: From the various studies in hand, we may tentatively say that about 30 per cent of the Chinese population are

below 15, and 20 per cent are above 50. This shows that the Chinese population is stationary.

Third, marital status: 60 per cent of the Chinese population are so-called marriageable, i.e., they are able to be married. Fifty per cent of the Chinese population are married, and less than 10 per cent of the marriageable population have never been married. The average marriage age in China ranges between 21 to 24 for men, and 18 to 21 for women.

Fourth, occupation: About 35 to 45 per cent of the male population, 10 to 20 per cent of the female population in China are gainfully employed, so 22 to 33 per cent of the Chinese population are gainfully employed. There is no study concerning the distribution of occupation in any representative locality. Recently, one of my students made a study of the population of a town near the University. Out of a population of 2,025, 24 females and 756 males are gainfully employed. Of this number, 30 were farmers, 294 handicraft workers of all kinds, 266 merchants, 82 students or teachers, 76 servants, and 32 had miscellaneous occupations. This is by no means a representative study of a Chinese town so far as distribution of occupation is concerned. It may be safely said that the predominant percentage of the Chinese population is engaged in farming, and the next largest class is handicraft workers, and the next largest class is engaged in small trades and transportation business.

POPULATION MOVEMENTS

There are two types of movements in China,—one is the northward movement from Shantung, Chihli, and Honan, to Manchuria and Mongolia, and the other from Kwangtung and Fukien to the South Pacific Islands and elsewhere. The main cause of migration is economic pursuit.

Recently, the annual migration from North China provinces to Manchuria and Mongolia amounts to over a million a year. The number of Chinese who reside abroad is a little over eight millions altogether, including those in the United States.

The results of Chinese immigration to Manchuria and Mongolia have been very prosperous. They go poor, and they come back quite well-to-do. Most of them are engaged in farming. There is also a tendency to take their families with them, and not, as before, to return at the end of every farming season. The Chinese abroad, as a rule, are very prosperous, and have high social positions in countries where they do not have to face competition with white labor. In countries where they have to compete with white labor, they are usually disabled economically and socially, either through legislation or race prejudice.

The above is only a brief summary of my monograph, *The Chinese Population Problem*, published in Chinese by the Commercial Press, 1928. I have presented only the tentative conclusions, and not so much the data. For further information, the reader may consult the Chinese text.

PEOPLE, CLOUDS, AND SKY

R. AGUILAR REGIL

Los Angeles

I love people.
Each person that I meet
Shares something in common with me.
If we cannot understand the language,
We understand the eyes;
Faces speak a common tongue.
Each one is different
Yet we are also alike.
We are brothers and sisters of one family,
Humanity.

I love the clouds
That live so at-home in the sky.
On quiet days or glad
They travel their course
Along the pathway of the sky.
O, that we may travel
Our pathway here on earth,
In harmony with life,
Conscious of the beauties of the earth.

I love the sea—
The inexorable strength of it,
The laughing lightness of its playful days;
I love its calm, unhurried, inevitable victory
Over all things human.
It is like God.

EDITORIAL NOTE: The author of these lines is a student in one of the Americanization classes in the public schools of Los Angeles, taught by Mrs. Nancy J. Bowen. In expressing this fine bit of philosophy, Mr. Regil discloses something of the richness of his Mexican culture.

JAPANESE MIGRATION STATISTICS¹

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WHEN THE population data of the 1920 census were published there were many people who questioned the accuracy of the figures relating to the number of Japanese in the United States. According to the 1910 census there were 67,655 foreign born Japanese in the United States and the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration showed an excess of 67,109 admissions of alien Japanese immigrants over departures of alien Japanese emigrants in the ten years ending June 30, 1920. This excess was for both Continental United States and Hawaii, but there was no specific mention of Hawaii and it was natural that casual mainland investigators familiar with census practice should assume that the excess was for Continental United States.

Allowing for an ordinary death rate, age considered, it appeared that the 1920 census should show approximately 127,000 foreign born Japanese in Continental United States. The actual census figures were 81,338—an apparent discrepancy of over 45,000.

Considering the existing state of public opinion and suspicion, this was a serious matter. There was much fear that the Japanese were becoming so numerous as to jeopardize the interests of the White Race. It was charged that the Gentleman's Agreement was ineffective and even that

¹ This article is an outgrowth of a study made by Miss Gladys Harvey in a course on immigration at the University of Hawaii.

its express terms were being violated in an important degree. A picture of a horde of Japanese supplanting Americans was in the minds of many people and the immigration statistics were quoted in support of doctrines based on such fears. The more reassuring figures of the census were discounted by the theory that many Japanese had evaded the census agents in order to conceal their true numbers.

In view of the public interest it was desirable that there should be a clear explanation of the apparent discrepancy between the figures of the census and the estimates based on data in the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration, but so far as the present writer is aware this has not been done. As I write I have before me two recent books, both excellent in most respects, which append the usual erroneous statistics of immigration and emigration,—erroneous though correctly quoted from a recent report of the Commissioner General of Immigration. Neither writer drew any conclusions from the data, but the figures were quoted without any effort to resolve the above mentioned discrepancies. One might even say that through incompleteness of relevant data and the absence of explanatory comment the information serves to support current misconceptions.²

There are two principal sources of error in the estimates to which reference has been made.

The first error grows out of the varying practice in the statistical treatment of Hawaii. In the Census tables "The United States" means Continental United States and the data for Hawaii are ordinarily given separately

² *Oriental Exclusion*, by Dr. R. D. McKenzie, Professor of Sociology, University of Washington.

Resident Orientals on the Pacific Coast, by Professor Eliot G. Mears of Stanford University.

Both are published by the University of Chicago Press, 1928.

and are not included in tables for the United States. But the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration treat Hawaii as an integral part of the United States. When it gives figures for immigration to the United States, immigration to Hawaii is included, but commonly without specific mention. A sufficient examination of these reports clarifies the situation, but casual investigators are commonly satisfied to use the most convenient table that appears to meet their need and without any particular effort to look behind the mere figures to the realities they are supposed to represent.

The second source of error is not so easily explained. It is necessary to consider the classification of travellers and the classificatory terms and also the procedure through which the statistical data are secured.

Since 1907 people leaving the United States have been classified as citizens, emigrant aliens, and non-emigrant aliens while persons admitted into the country have been classed as citizens, immigrant aliens, and non-immigrant aliens. The distinctions between emigrant and non-emigrant, immigrant and non-immigrant are made for the purpose of revealing more perfectly the effect of the passenger movement on the numbers of aliens permanently domiciled in the United States. Non-immigrants and non-emigrants are by definition persons who enter or leave the country temporarily for business or pleasure and their movement is not supposed to have any permanent effect on the population. Hence it is customary to quote only the figures for emigrant alien departures and immigrant alien admissions. This would be legitimate if all actual emigrants and immigrants were properly classified, but, as we shall see later, this is not the case with the natives of at least one country, i.e., Japan.

Both immigration and emigration statistics are based on the data of ships' manifests—that is, for those who travel by water. The data of the ships' manifests are based on statements made by the passengers. In the case of a people such as the Japanese the statements are ordinarily written by agents who have acquired the special knowledge and skill. Ordinarily Japanese hotel keepers in seaport cities act as agents and receive fees in compensation. It is to the agent's interest to facilitate the purpose of his clients.

Considerable numbers of alien Japanese who have acquired a legal domicile in the United States go to their native land on a visit. They, of course, intend to return and they fill out the blank form to show some point in the United States as their intended future permanent residence. But there are many whose actual intention is uncertain. They would like to remain in Japan if they can make favorable arrangements and if they like the old village life after their experience in America. There is much uncertainty as to these matters and returning travellers know of the experience of friends who have made the trip previously. They, therefore, postpone the final decision till they have been in Japan a while. Because they give America as their intended future residence they are classified as non-emigrants. About five-sixths of all who go from the Mainland are thus classified and of those who leave Hawaii more than nine-tenths are considered non-emigrant.

But many so-called non-emigrants do, in fact, remain permanently in Japan. They are emigrants but not so classed. In fact, the great majority of all emigrant alien Japanese classify themselves as non-emigrant. The error due to this misclassification is for Continental United States for the decade 1911-20 about 24,000 and for Hawaii about 17,000 (See tables I, II, III, and IV).

If one wishes to determine the gains due to the excess of admissions over departures of alien Japanese, it is necessary, therefore, to ignore the misleading distinction between emigrant and non-emigrant and to consider the entire movement of alien Japanese.

At the same time many American born children are taken by their parents and commonly the children remain with the parents. They are classified by the American Government, not as Japanese, but as American citizens going abroad temporarily. This does not affect the statistics of aliens, but since the Japanese Government classifies them as subjects of the emperor,—as Japanese,—it results in a wide discrepancy between the American and the Japanese statistics of emigration of Japanese from the United States to Japan. This discrepancy considering Hawaii as well as the mainland, for the ten years ending June 30, 1920, amounts to over 27,000.

FISCAL YEAR ENDING	TABLE I			TABLE II		
	Immigrant Alien Admissions	Emigrant Alien Departure	Gain	Admissions all Alien Japanese	Departures all Alien Japanese	Gain or Loss
1911	2692	2439	253	4282	5869	—1587
1912	3356	984	2372	5358	5437	— 79
1913	4240	517	3723	6771	5647	1124
1914	5124	579	4545	8462	6300	2162
1915	5984	725	5259	9029	5967	3062
1916	5914	722	5192	9100	6922	2178
1917	5747	638	5109	9159	6581	2578
1918	7312	1309	6003	11143	7691	3452
1919	7672	1953	5719	11404	8328	3076
1920	7141	4009	3132	12868	11662	1206
TOTAL	55,182	13,875	41,307	87,576	70,404	17,172

FISCAL YEAR ENDING	TABLE III			TABLE IV		
	Immigrant Alien Admissions	Emigrant Alien Departures	Gain	Admissions all Alien Japanese	Departures all Alien Japanese	Gain or Loss
1911	1883	912	971	2159	2464	— 305
1912	2816	517	2299	3231	2593	638
1913	4062	216	3836	4901	2793	2108
1914	3817	215	3602	4554	2603	1951
1915	2625	100	2525	3208	2520	688
1916	2797	58	2739	3607	2496	1111
1917	3178	84	3094	4129	2581	1548
1918	2856	249	2607	3936	3149	787
1919	2384	174	2210	3500	2905	595
1920	2138	229	1909	3306	3991	— 685
TOTAL	28,556	2,754	25,802	36,531	28,095	8,436

Hawaii is not a foreign country nor an Island Possession, but is an integral part of the United States. Passengers between Honolulu and the mainland are travelling within one country and so they are not counted as immigrants or emigrants. There has been a small movement of Japanese, both aliens and citizens, between Honolulu and the mainland—the movement toward the mainland being a little larger than the return movement. If one seeks to check the census figures by using immigration and emigration data for Continental United States it will be necessary to consider the gain of the mainland by emigration from Hawaii. There are no complete data for this, but from such data as are available I have estimated that Hawaii has lost and that the mainland has gained about 2,500 alien Japanese in ten years from 1910-20.

The data of the preceding statistical tables, if the titles are read understandingly, are comparable with those of Dr. McKenzie's table, page 187, except that in his table the figures for Hawaii and Continental United States are combined. If one wishes to get the gains for the period between the census of 1910 and that of 1920 he must modify his period appropriately to extend from April 15, 1910, to January 1, 1920, a period of 9 years, 8½ months. When this is done the gains by excess of admissions of alien Japanese over departures of alien Japanese is for Continental United States 14,994 and for Hawaii 8,744.

The following table shows the method through which one may estimate the foreign born Japanese population of the United States for 1920 on the basis of the data of the 1910 census and of the later reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration taken in connection with data or estimates as to deaths.

	MAINLAND	HAWAII
Foreign born Japanese population according to the Census of 1910.	67,655	59,786
Gains due to the excess of admissions over departures for the nine years, eight and one-half months.	14,994	8,744
TOTAL	82,649	68,530
Deaths—estimated	6,000	6,500
SURVIVING	76,649	62,030

The above provisional estimate must be modified to allow for the movement of alien Japanese from Hawaii to the mainland estimated at 2,500. This gives Hawaii 59,530 and the mainland 79,149. The remaining discrepancy is as follows:

	MAINLAND	HAWAII
Census figures for 1920	81,338	60,688
The above estimate	79,149	59,530
	<hr/>	<hr/>
DISCREPANCY	2,189	1,158

It is to be noted that this small remaining discrepancy is opposed in character to the apparent large discrepancy to which reference has been made. The census enumerators in 1920 actually found more alien Japanese than were to be expected on the basis of immigration statistics.

There are a few minor factors which might serve to account for the small remaining discrepancy if they could be statistically measured. Besides a probable error in the estimated number of deaths there are at least two things to be considered:

(1) There is ground for the belief that the Census returns of 1910 for the Japanese in Hawaii were incomplete to the extent of a thousand or two and that there was a considerable improvement in 1920. Possibly this would explain the whole discrepancy for Hawaii.

(2) It is known that some alien Japanese entered the United States by crossing the Canadian and Mexican borders unauthorized and uncounted, but the numbers are not known. In the decade 364 alien Japanese were deported for having entered without inspection or at time or place not designated by immigration officials. Probably most of these were persons who crossed the borders illegally. It is the belief of men familiar with the situation that the number caught and deported was but a small fraction of the number of those who entered. If 2,189 so entered in the decade and escaped detection, this would account for the discrepancy for the mainland.

The following conclusions may be drawn:

(1) The statistical reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration furnish no ground for doubt as to the substantial accuracy of the 1920 Census of alien Japanese. The Census may be incomplete, but if so, the evidence must come from some other source. If alien Japanese entered illegally and uncounted to a number much exceeding 2,189, the excess over and above this number must have been missed by the 1920 Census agents too. The present writer knows of no statistical data of any value that would throw light on this situation. Of course, it is quite possible that the Japanese were incompletely counted in 1910 and if so this would still further complicate matters.

But the main point is that Census tables and the statistics of the Immigration department are in substantial agreement. The wide apparent discrepancy discovered by casual investigators was due to a misunderstanding of the way Hawaii is treated and to the use of tables that did not show the whole movement of alien Japanese.

(2) Because of the character of the original data on which emigration statistics are based it is necessary to use such statistics with extreme care in the case of the Japanese and perhaps some other peoples.

(3) If one wishes to know how the number of persons of the Japanese race or people has been affected by movement in the ten year period it is necessary to consult Japanese statistics, for the American figures do not class as Japanese the American born citizens of Japanese ancestry who go permanently to Japan. There are American data that tend to show that the Japanese figures are substantially correct. According to these figures Hawaii lost over two thousand persons of the Japanese race or people by excess of departures over admissions while, for the mainland, admissions were only a little more than balanced by departures.

(4) The main increase of population of Japanese in the United States during the decade was a result of births. The population movement for the decade may be visualized as follows:

For Continental United States the number of adult males decreased from 56,638 to 53,411 while the number of married women increased from 5,582 to 22,195 a gain of over sixteen thousand. This resulted in a marked rise in births, the refined birth rate being exceptionally high because the women were nearly all married and they were young. Approximately a third of the children, about fourteen thousand, had been taken to Japan before the date of the 1920 Census—most of them for permanent residence—so that the number of native born citizens of Japanese ancestry increased from 4,502 to 29,672.

For Hawaii the number of adult males decreased from 41,795 to 36,548, the number of married women increased from 13,968 to 22,373. Approximately 45,000 births were reported to the Japanese Consulate but the increase in the number of citizens of Japanese ancestry was only 28,697, many,—probably about eleven thousand—having been taken to Japan.

PARENT-CHILD CONFLICT¹

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IN ORDER to avoid confusion over the meaning of terms, there needs to be noted a distinction which this study makes between mental conflict and social conflict. *Mental conflict*² denotes a state of opposing impulses and tendencies to act in the mind of a particular person. Such a conflict need not involve other persons,—at least not specific persons. Thus a child may have a mental conflict centering around sex impulses,—a conflict which, though it tend to express itself in activity, is not necessarily identified with particular individuals. *Social conflict*, on the other hand, although essentially mental in nature, involves an opposition of persons. It is the tendency of persons with antagonistic attitudes to oppose each other overtly. In the following discussion there is no treatment of conflicts in the mind of the child which do not in some manner express themselves in opposition to the parent.

Social conflict between parent and child manifests itself, objectively, in an opposition of activity between parent and child, and subjectively, in an opposition of attitudes. Not only does shared activity tend to be reduced to a minimum, but the activity of the one comes to be distasteful and repugnant to the other also. Although the

¹ EDITORIAL NOTE: A section of a dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology at the University of Southern California, 1928.

² William Healy, *Mental Conflict and Misconduct* (1917).

conflict between parent and child may arise because of opposing attitudes with regard to a single complex of values only, such as, for instance, those relating to religion, the antagonistic feelings are frequently projected, by a sort of contagion, to a great many other complexes of values. The child is then inclined to hold in disfavor all values definitely associated with the parent in question.

My mother and father, much to their surprise, were forced to adjust themselves to a "dud" in the family circle. I don't know how seriously they took it, but I do know that life was made uncomfortable for me through an atmosphere of failure, and of having somehow not come up to expectations, so much so that I went around with a sense of guilt and rather bitter revolt.

I flatly refused to "come out," but I had not the faintest idea of what I did want. I knew only that I was "agin" everything the family wanted,—all its traditions, all its theories, all its works.³

The conflict may be viewed as an effort on the part of both the parent and the child to maintain status and dignity. To achieve this end, the child may deny obedience to the parent and reduce to a minimum shared activity between his parent and himself. The child maintains status, in other words, by refusing to acknowledge the parental sovereignty,—by depriving the parent of the esteem and status he previously enjoyed. The parent, on the other hand, may maintain status in the conflict with his child by exercising his authority in the form of chastisement and physical punishment. Again, the reaction of the parent may extend to a modification of his former responsibilities with regard to his child. As, for example, a child denies his father obedience, the father denies his child support. Thus each seeks to exercise the power he

³ "In Search of Adventure," ("These Modern Women" Series), *The Nation*, CXXIV:631.

normally has over the other, in the effort to maintain status and self-respect.

The case of the T. family is an instance in point. The conflict between Mrs. T. and her daughter seems to have had its beginning in the unfavorable reaction of the mother to the companionship which obtained between father and daughter. Mrs. T.'s personality appears to have been dominated by a passion for monopolizing her husband's affections. The normal association of father and daughter, accordingly, aroused feelings of jealousy in Mrs. T.,—feelings which evinced themselves, finally, in open antagonism toward her daughter. The effort on the part of both mother and daughter to lower each other's status by depriving each other of satisfactions normally belonging to a parent-child relationship is suggested in the following excerpt from the daughter's story:

My mother never gave very much attention to me ever since I can remember. She was very devoted to my father, and spent most of her time with him when I was small. I remember I used to want to play with my father before going to bed, but she always cut the play-time short. My father liked to play with me, and I liked to be with him very much, but he never opposed her. That's the thing I disliked about him, that he should yield to her. . . .

When I started to go to high school, her meanness toward me came out very clearly. She never beat me . . . but worst of all there was nagging. Whatever I might do, she would find fault with it and plague me to death, almost, with what a bad girl I was. She had control of me, and my father did nothing. . . . I used to hate him at times for not helping me. . . . But she would take him off most of the time, after dinner, when he came home,—to theaters and what not. She wouldn't let him help me with my homework. . . . As I grew older, these cruelties were replaced by others: shabby clothes, no pocket money, more nagging. Once I ran away from home, to a relative, but my father came and convinced me to return home and "not disgrace the family."

. . . . When it was time for me to go to college, she was for sending me to one away from home. All my friends attended the city college right at home, and I decided to join them. The first year I lived at home while going to school, but I didn't do well in my work, because I was miserable most of the time. So I started to room at the Seminary beginning my second year. . . . The older I got the more I loathed her. She seemed to me all that a mother ought not to be. . . .

Now I have a home of my own, and I hope I have better luck with my child. . . . Yes, I still can't think a pleasant thought of my mother. She tries to spite me even yet. For instance, I wanted my father to visit us the other day, but he couldn't come. I'm sure she saw to it. The only way I get to see him is by arranging it in some underhand way. . . . But she gets her share, you may believe me. She is very sensitive to what the neighbors say and she had to swallow a whole lot of gossip when I left home, and all the rest. I write stories . . . and the mother in them isn't a pleasing character. . . . I confess I get a great deal of satisfaction out of this . . . and the friends of the family know my stories. That isn't very pleasant for her. . . .

It is a compelling phenomenon, that, notwithstanding the tension, the unpleasantness, and the nervous strain attendant upon conflict, parent and child in opposition often derive eminent satisfaction from it, for the conflict yields to each, unconsciously perhaps,—a sense of power and of self-importance; and this is especially true for the child, since it lifts him above the level of the subject-status he generally enjoys. By virtue of these subtle satisfactions derived by both, the conflict is strengthened and sustained.

With regard to the nature of the process of parent-child conflict itself, it appears there is first, a tendency on the part of the one, either the parent or the child, to thwart the impulses and activity of the other; and secondly, an opposition of the one to the thwarting of the other. In the case of Stasia, as the excerpt below suggests, her impulses were very early thwarted by a father who, among other things,

forbade her to go shopping with her mother. Her shedding of tears is at once expressive of her disappointment and indicative of opposition. When, in the presence of others, she is whipped for crying, again her impulses are thwarted,—this time her desire for status and her desire for response. As a result comes open conflict between her father and herself.

Asked what is her earliest memory of any incident that she resented, Stasia tells us that she thinks it was something that occurred when she was about five. She loved to go with her mother on shopping expeditions because she was usually given candy or some treat. Once when she was very good and her mother had promised to take her, her father forbade it for no special reason. When she cried through disappointment he beat her in front of some customers in the shop. . . . Then they disagreed about their likes. She was always fond of dancing around the house and waving her arms about. This made him furious because he has a sister who was on the stage and whom he says she resembles. When she would dance and sing at home her father would forbid it, telling her she would have a bad end.⁴

In a number of other instances the thwarting and opposing aspects of conflict are suggested by a phrase or sentence in the child's narrative. "My mother cannot even speak English," writes a daughter, "And she has been in this country thirty years. I want her to learn because it's a disgrace, but she won't, so we quarrel." Again, a child complains of her father, "We fight because he doesn't treat me fair. My sister is his favorite and I am treated like a step-child." In both of these instances, there is suggested an initial thwarting of a child's desire for status. In the first, the daughter loses standing with her friends, she feels, by virtue of her parent's culture-traits; in the second, the

⁴ Judge Baker Foundation, *Case Studies*, Case 17, 20.

child's desire for parental response, and for status in the household, is not gratified. The result is, in both instances, an opposition to the unpleasant stimuli. Thwarting and opposing are thus two sub-processes of conflict.

ORIGINS OF CONFLICT IN DETACHMENT

The origin of conflict between parent and child may frequently be traced back either to parental neglect or to parental dominance. With reference to the first, for example, a child may withdraw from his parent while he is young, adjusting himself to the parental indifference. But with advance in years, having developed concepts of what a parent should be, the same child may come to resent the long-standing ignorance or indifference on the part of his parent, and henceforth become antagonistic toward him.

In the case of Q., a "leisure-class pattern" on the part of the mother, expressing itself in an unwillingness to take an active part in her daughter's upbringing, served to make great the social distance between the two. Still, at first, there was no conflict between them. The daughter, denied an intimacy with her mother, turned to other sources for the satisfaction of her desires,—notably to her chums. But with the passage of years the reaction of the daughter to her mother changed from mere withdrawal to conflict. Being more mature, the child came now to compare her home situation with those which other children enjoyed, and she resented the obvious differences. As the following indicates, she became increasingly conscious of her peculiar situation and of the loss of status it involved.

I din't mind it when I was little. I suppose it's because I really didn't understand what it was all about. She was always the same way. . . . That isn't the way Mary's mother treats her. (Mary is her chum.) Mary's house is clean and it's fun to play there. Her

mother is very nice, too, and she gives us good things to eat. She bakes nice pies and makes jellies, and whenever I go there she gives me something. She likes to have me play with Mary. Sometimes she plays with us too. My mother never does. She doesn't want to take the time to play with me. She won't be bothered with such things. The only thing she knows is to get up late and eat her own breakfast, and then sit playing the piano all day for her own amusement. I can't play in the house when she is practicing. I never tell her anything. She's not interested in me. . . .

I'm beginning to hate it. I don't go any place with her, and she never asks me to go. Everybody wonders where my mother is because they never see me with her, and it makes me ashamed of myself. . . .

Conflict between parent and child may, then, be traced to earlier parental detachment. In this connection it may be well to consider juvenile delinquency, which is a frequent cause of parent-child conflict, due to the fact that the child's misdemeanor challenges the family status. The child's delinquency brings about antagonistic feelings between him and those who are held to share in the responsibility for his behavior. As one father suggests:

I talk with him about it. I tell him it is unworthy of him to be such a bad boy, and that it disgraces his father and mother. But he does not listen to my words, and I lose patience with him. . . . I try to discipline my children by reasoning with them, but when I find they do not respond I resort to corporal punishment.⁵

It should be observed not only that juvenile delinquency leads to parent-child conflict, but that parental detachment is frequently responsible for the delinquency itself. Thwarted in the desire for parental response, denied the opportunity to clear up doubts, the child finds compensatory satisfaction wherever he can. The Healy *Case Studies*

⁵ Emory S. Bogardus, *The City Boy and His Problems*, 73.

offer abundant testimony in this regard. In almost all of the instances revealing parental neglect, the child satisfies his desires through contacts with "the gang," or through accidental meetings with boys already given to delinquency. As Alfred Adler suggests, in part, it is the unwanted child that tends to become delinquent.⁶

Thus, there seems to be the sequence of child delinquency, especially at adolescence, resulting from parental detachment, and conflict as the outcome of the delinquency. In the case of William, cited in part below, the process of parent-child detachment appears to have begun early in the child's life, due to the late marriage of his parents. The failure of the parents to understand William's desires is clearly revealed in his situation on entering high school. They fail to provide him with the conditions (clothes, money, etc.) which help to give the student a favorable status, and their neglect proves a stimulus to delinquency. William's delinquency in turn reacts upon the family status, and the result is conflict between father and son.

. . . In September he entered high school. He had no brilliant jazz sweater like the other boys, no running pants for the gym, no spending money for anything. . . . His mother did not notice the holes in his socks, but then she never had. It was the football season and William wanted a leather helmet. One day he was poking around the locker rooms and found himself on the girls' side. He felt excited and foolish. A door was ajar. William pushed aside an absurd green silk blouse, opened a vanity case and took three dollar bills. The janitor caught him. . . .

. . . William lay two weeks in jail before his hearing in the Juvenile Court. The judge heard the case carefully and then said privately to the father: "Sometimes youngsters steal and get over it when they have had a good lesson. We will send him home."

"Not to my home," said the father. "I wash my hands of him."⁷

⁶ Alfred Adler, "Character and Talent," *Harpers*, June, 1927.

⁷ Miriam Van Waters, *Parents on Probation*, 61.

It appears from the foregoing that neglect in childhood furnishes a good basis for conflict later in the life of the child. There is no fund of affection, of shared experience, and of pleasant recollections that may act as a tempering influence in times of difficulty between parent and child. On the contrary, having come to feel the parental indifference as evidenced in behavior through the years, the child,—by virtue of the mental set engendered,—frequently misinterprets and exaggerates unpleasant experiences with the parent. Such experiences much more readily become the stimuli to parent-child conflict.

ORIGINS IN PARENTAL DOMINANCE

Not only parental neglect but also parental dominance of the child's activities may be one of the origins of conflict between them. Parents may seek to subordinate the child's behavior in detail, or in certain respects only. That is to say, the dominance may be general, or it may be limited merely to some particular complex of values.

The instance of parent-child conflict which follows appears to have its roots in a parental dominance more or less general in scope. An only child, Z., revolts against the more or less complete control over his life exercised by his parents. The father, a highly successful town banker, shows the same zeal in directing his son's affairs as he does his business, and feels much the same power over the one as the other. Likewise the mother, who is city-bred and ill-adjusted to the life of the small town to which she has been introduced, finds compensatory satisfactions in her child, and identifies her life with his. Z. then has both parents regulating his activities in more or less detail. During the course of his second year of college work, however, Z. gains insight into his problem and reacts against the long-standing parental dominance.

. . . I had to tell them sooner or later, so I finally got up courage and made a clean breast of it. I told them how I had been thinking about our relationships in the past, and that I was convinced it wasn't good for either of us to be together all the time. I tried to explain to her that the reason I couldn't get along until now was because I couldn't adjust myself to being away from home, and especially from her, and that I had my way so long that I couldn't get along with other people. . . . Sooner or later I would want to marry, and I would have to leave her then anyhow. . . . So I suggested going to school away from home.

The usual,—I suppose it's usual,—scenes took place. She said I didn't respect her, didn't have any gratitude for anything that she had done for me. Up until the time that I actually went, my father did not take it seriously. "Let him alone," he used to say, "he'll get over it." . . . But I was determined to take the step. . . . We have never been the same. They have the feeling that I just threw them overboard, and I have the feeling that they haven't any sense at all. So we are in a very strained sort of situation now, and I don't see that it's going to change any.

The dominance out of which conflict tends to grow may then be a more or less generalized dominance affecting the child's life as a whole. On the other hand, conflict may result from the effort of the parents to impose activity upon their child with regard to a complex of values, or a few complexes of values, of particular significance to him. For instance, the parents may insist upon the child's adherence to religious practices which are repugnant to him. In every other respect the child may be free to determine his own behavior, but with regard to the religious life the parents insist upon their own selection for him. The same may be true with regard to the child's career, in that the parent requires that the child shall follow the kind of activity that the parent chooses for him. Such an insistence upon certain specific values for the child generally grows out of an "emotional complex" on the part of the parent

with regard to these values.⁸ It is the intensely emotional character of such complexes which blinds the parent to the best interests of the child. With the unwillingness or inability of the child to accept these values, conflict arises between his parent and himself.

In the excerpt from the case of Harry Scranton cited below, there may be observed the father's "academic complex," as a consequence of which Harry has run away from home. The boy, by natural inclination, is given to working with mechanical things, especially with electrical apparatus. The boy's interest in such things is, however, opposed by his father who can think of nothing for his son but academic pursuits. The father's highly emotional attitude toward manual labor and things mechanical may be discerned in his diatribe against the present educational system, with its "millions in electrical equipment."

"Vocational rot! It is your educational system that has ruined the delicate mind of my boy. How do you dare to throw a thirteen year old boy on his own resources and let him pick out his own courses! Bunk, all bunk. I blame them with their fool workshops and millions in electrical equipment for my boy's present condition. I want my boy to be a gentleman and a scholar. I hate a hod carrier. I know an electrical engineer isn't a hod carrier, and I would talk to one and do anything I could for him, but I won't have my boy be a mechanical engineer or any other kind."

Mr. S. went on at great length berating the present educational system, and then drifted into his own college days. . . . Mr. S. immediately grew eloquent and enthusiastic. He spoke at length about the beauty of the Greek language, and then swift as lightning, the entire atmosphere changed again and pounding on the arm of his chair Mr. S. shouted: "That is the kind of education my son must have, and that is the kind of training I want my son to have.." . . .⁹

⁸ See William I. Thomas and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Child in America*, 89 ff. Also, Bernard Hart, *The Psychology of Insanity*, 58 ff.

⁹ *The Scranton Interview*, an unpublished document (Professor Erle F. Young).

Conflict between parent and child thus frequently revolves about certain values which come into the life of the child, toward which the parent and child have contrasting attitudes. Such conflict generally manifests itself during the adolescence of the child when, with the emergence of new impulses and desires, the latter tends to build up behavior patterns out of keeping with those he had before, or with those which receive parental sanction.¹⁰ A more or less complete change takes place in the character of his interests. Whereas in childhood, for example, his play activities are likely to be those of children generally, and so likely to be approved and sponsored by his parents, with his development comes a diversification of pastimes in which his parents frequently do not engage and toward which they have less favorable attitudes.

The earlier activities of the child, again, revolve about the home and partake of a group nature, whereas his later interests tend to be individualized, and dissociated from the common family life. As a result of these divergent interests, of these values toward which the parent and the child have antagonistic attitudes, conflict frequently arises between the two. In the following, there may be seen not only the clash of parent-child interests, but also the daughter's resentment of parental interference because it tends to lower her status with "the crowd."

. . . He will come to the parties and fetch me home by ten-thirty, and the way he sets toward them—gosh! you should see him—with the result that I am the laugh of the crowd sometimes. He thinks having a good time is sitting reading on the beach like an old woman. I want to sing and dance and play the fool generally. . . . I wish my daddy would understand me better and know that things are different now than when he was a kid, that the young people don't want

¹⁰ See W. H. Burnham, *Intelligent Parenthood*, 194.

the same things, and even if I did want them, I would have to want them by myself, because my friends like these other things and their parents let them do it. Daddy tries to keep me young like a child, and I am growing up.¹¹

Conflict between parent and child is thus seen to have, frequently, some of its origins in parental dominance. Such parental influence may be *general*, subordinating the child as a person, or *specific*, subordinating certain of his values only. Again, the imposition may be of *long standing*, with the child showing open antagonism only after years of suppression, or the dominance may be of *recent origin*, following upon the more or less sudden emergence of behavior patterns in the child which are out of harmony with those his parent wishes for him.

¹¹ M. Te Water, *Some Sociological Aspects of Parent-Child Relationships*, 20.

RACE AND RELIGION

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RELIGIOUS movements follow racial lines only in a general way. The white group is predominantly Christian, and the colored groups are Mohammedan, Buddhist, Confucian, or primitive. Christianity, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism are the great world religions. These have long since ceased to be primitive tribal religions and are more or less actively propagandizing their beliefs among peoples of other nations and races. Already each has brought within its fold many millions, and each is in active competition for converts with the other in various parts of the world. Christianity, for example, is waging battle with Mohammedanism in Africa over the primitive peoples, and is competing actively with Buddhism in Japan and with Confucianism in China.

The competitive power of each of these great world religions is not fully known, but it is not necessary to assume that in the economic and cultural reorganization of the races the religion of the Occident—Christianity—will displace the original Oriental religions as rapidly as Occidental economic, political, and social ideals and institutions are accepted.

Christianity has already replaced many primitive religions. A few generations of close contact and organized effort is usually sufficient to bring about this change in a preliterate group. Some elements of primitive religions may be retained, and the final product may be somewhat

different from the earlier form. There have been strenuous efforts on the part of many Christian missionaries to prevent any substantial modification of Christian belief and practice arising from the retention of native folklore, magic, ritual, or mores. The influence of primitive religions upon Christianity has, therefore, been relatively slight. This is in part due to the fact that Christianity has a sacred literature and an organized priesthood or ministry. These give it a high degree of authority and stability. A "religion of the Book" has great advantages over a religion based on oral tradition.¹

Mohammedanism and Buddhism also have sacred literatures. They are, therefore, much more deeply rooted than the religions of preliterate or primitive peoples. They are able to compete actively with Christianity; at least, they have been able to check the losses of their adherents to Christianity.

So closely are religions of native peoples woven into their daily life, into their work and play, into their family and communal organization, that it is well nigh impossible for them to cast off their traditional religion without at the same time making radical changes in their economic and social organization. Under these conditions one school of Christian missionary thought has considered the feasibility and the desirability of some form of fusion of certain native customs with Christian mores. In either case a considerable amount of personal and social disorganization characterizes the transition from the one form of control to the other.

Race prejudice is at this point strongly re-enforced by religious prejudice. It is not always certain which is operating in a given case. Religion tends to give fixity to hab-

¹ A summary statement of the rôle of missions will be found in Louise Creighton, *Missions: Their Rise and Development*.

its of thought and action since it frequently provides divine sanction for them. The culture peculiar to a race is, therefore, imbedded so deeply in the individual that it requires intense emotional crises or long continued training to break off the old and establish the new.

The sociology of religion is too little known and deals with too vast a field of human behavior to permit a satisfactory cursory view. A religion may be, at once, religious code and cosmic philosophy, literature and ceremonial ritual, a system of personal habits and communal organization. Hence it enters into racial relations in manifold ways. It may separate races by its insistence upon particular rituals and beliefs; it may unite them by ideals of universal brotherhood or by the incorporation of members from among other races; it may lay down rules for the conduct of its members in dealing with other races, or give them a philosophy of race and race relations. The study of these aspects of religion by scientific method is a matter largely of the future. At present our best scientific opinions are little more than hazardous untested hypotheses. The pooling of experiences of anthropologist, missionary, and statesman should be followed by the application of scientific concepts for their social analysis and interpretation.

The relation of Christianity to race problems is from one point of view confusing. In Christian theory all men are brothers, but Christian practice has found this a very hard doctrine to exemplify when Christians are living in close contact with backward races. Idealists have frequently lived up to the full spirit of the teaching but the colored races have not been slow to note the mental reservations, if not practical denial, of the precept on the part of many persons who are presumably Christians.

Mohammedanism has seemingly less of this inconsistency between doctrine and practice to contend with in its

spread among primitive peoples. The convert who enters into the status of believer acquires a personal dignity which sets him off clearly in his thinking from the unbeliever. He is accepted more fully into the life of the Mohammedan group than has been the case with the colored convert to Christianity who needs must still remain in many ways a man apart.² He finds it very difficult to become more than "half-man" in the white Christian community though he may become a high church dignitary, a man of property, and a cultured gentleman.³

That is, the white missionary to colored races has a double task in the field of race relations: He must "sell" the white man's faith to colored men, and he must in turn "sell" the converted colored man to the white world. So far he has seemingly been more successful in the former than in the latter task. Such success as he has had in interesting white men in the religious and social problems of colored men he has aroused chiefly in white men who live at great distances and are out of contact with the particular colored group. To do more than lip-service to Christian doctrines bearing on race it is apparently necessary at present that the physical distances between the races must be such that the question of proper social distances need not be raised.

This does not argue that Christianity and Christian people exert no positive influence upon race relations. As in the case of modern science, however, it may well be that the indirect influence of this religious movement in partic-

² See Edward Wilmot Blyden, *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race* (London, 1888), for an interesting discussion of this phenomenon.

³ The intensity of the personal struggle is well illustrated by "An African Autobiography: A Fragment by Daniel Nhlane, a Christian Convert." Presented by Rev. Donald Fraser, Nyasaland, *Missionary Review of the World*, new series, XXXII (1919), 603-8; 683-6; 933-45.

ular racial situations may be more important than its direct influence.

Consider, for example, the tremendous influence which humanitarianism, now widely at work among colored races under Christian auspices, is exerting both upon their life and upon their attitude toward the white race. Christian missionaries have introduced the medical arts, household arts, sanitation, general and vocational education alongside their religious teachings. The accomplishments of the humanitarian and educational programs sponsored by Christian people outrun all power of computation. Not infrequently the practical arts of the Occident have been welcomed by groups which merely tolerate or flatly reject Christian doctrine. The missionary must content himself in such cases with his contribution to the daily life of the colored races—a truly transforming contribution nevertheless.

Fusion of cultures is apparently ultimately inevitable in a world whose boundaries are yearly shrinking almost visibly. However, while the spread of a common world-culture will considerably soften present-day cultural contrasts, it may at the same time throw biological race-traits into sharper contrast. The geographical and occupational isolation of races is becoming increasingly difficult. The number of cultural hybrids is multiplying rapidly though intermarriage is still slight.

Meantime a fiercely competitive struggle for religious dominance is developing among the world religions. The outcome is made very uncertain owing to the antithesis between two tendencies: First the tendency for each race in competition with others to rally about its own culture, especially its religion, as an idealized value giving that race special distinction and merit; and, on the other hand, the tendency of the great religions to propagandize themselves

among all races avowedly bringing all into one common brotherhood in which racial differences are of no great importance. Christianity has traditionally displayed inter-racial tendencies, but a considerable reaction has already developed⁴ so that it may well be that racial and religious lines will continue to run nearly parallel as they have traditionally done despite the melting away of geographic barriers and the destruction or at least softening, of other cultural differences.

⁴ For a discussion of the situation in China, see Maurice T. Price, *Christian Missions and Oriental Civilizations*.

MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP¹

HELEN W. WALKER

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STATISTICAL information from the county court house in Southern California shows that a very small per cent of the aliens petitioning for United States naturalization papers is Mexican. Yet by far the greater per cent of Southern California's foreign population is Mexican. There must be very good reasons why more of these Mexicans are not becoming naturalized.

NATURALIZATION STATISTICS REPRESENTATIVE MONTHS IN 1926-1928

<i>County in California</i>	<i>Total number naturalized</i>	<i>Mexicans naturalized</i>
Riverside	95	2
Orange	113	0
Los Angeles	726	3

The United States, conscious of a magnanimity in granting enfranchisement to foreigners, refuses to coerce anyone into citizenship. Her attitude is, and rightly so, that the opportunity and invitation are extended to those who wish to avail themselves of it. She is not disappointed or angry with those who fail to see its advantages, but she feels a bit superior (a bit patronizing, perhaps), to those who thus

¹ Editorial Note: This article is supplementary to an article by Miss Walker published in the September-October issue, 1928, of *Sociology and Social Research*, entitled "Mexican Immigrants as Laborers." Miss Walker was formerly an Americanization teacher and director in Southern California.

wilfully refuse the privileges which are theirs almost for the asking. America does not in any way urge the Mexican (any more than any other alien) to join her "family," but welcomes him if he chooses to do so.

The alien Mexican for the most part is not interested in becoming naturalized. His idea is some time to return to his own and beloved Mexico—his first and only love. (As a matter of fact many actually do not return, but they almost all plan to do so some day.) He thinks the United States the better place in which to live now, but he hopes that soon the revolutions will be over in Mexico. It would be disloyal to Mexico to adopt another *patria*; unfaithful, almost treacherous.

The larger per cent of the Mexican population of Southern California represents the peon class. Numbers of these people migrate seasonally from one agricultural community to another. Many of them can neither read nor write the English language, much less understand the intricate operations of the state and national governments. It would be a long, tedious, laborious task to fathom it all. The Mexican peon dislikes work. Work is work; joy is joy. The two are not the same. There is joy in play, in music, in color, in rest, in the dance, but not in work. There is no such thing as the joy of working at difficult tasks. One does disagreeable work for money, not for joy. Why then assume the difficult, tedious task of becoming naturalized, when in the end there is no joy as reward?

The Mexican likes authority as he dislikes work. It is very much easier for him to follow, to obey, to imitate, than it is for him to lead, to command, or to originate. His Latin temperament alone explains this. He has also been taught submission by the Church in Mexico, and patience and obedience by three generations of peonage there.² Therefore, the democratic form of government in

² Erna Fergusson, *Century*, CXVL:43.

the United States does not especially appeal to him. He can see no reason why he should participate in its action. The laws he respects in so far as he understands them; he respects the flag of the United States, but he loves the flag of Mexico; he is not dangerous to our communal organization, but he has no desire to become a part of our body politic.

Many a Mexican-American peon whose family has been here for several generations, and who by birth is an American citizen, does not vote. He may even have been in the Army or Navy during the War. He is a patriot, of course. Yet he feels that it is the business of the officials to manage the government. He does not want to "interfere" with the government policies by voting on issues or candidates at election time. He is really not a part of the real America.

Because of language and color he is foreign even to the so-called "hyphenated" American citizen; he may always be. He will be at least until Caucasians are cured of assuming that persons of another color are different from them, and because they are different are therefore inferior.

In the agricultural communities of Southern California, there are comparatively few "educated" or "superior" Mexicans, and there are practically no *dons*. The representatives of the Mexican middle class (artisans, storekeepers, etc.) are the "superiors" here in the United States; the *dons* are the representatives of the highest class in the Mexican social scale. Many of these "superiors" are little trusted by the peons. So often and for so long have they taken advantage of their illiterate countryman, the laborer, that they no longer have his confidence. Unscrupulous Americans have been guilty of this malpractice as well, and are as little trusted. Therefore until the Mexican "superior" and the American can prove their honesty and sincerity the social distance between them and the

peon will be greater than that which would ordinarily be existent between any two corresponding social groups.

As an evidence of this feeling, I quote Señor S. G., a Mexican merchant.

I have a store in the Mexican district. If I become a citizen of the United States the Mexicans wouldn't trade with me, because they wouldn't think that I was fair to them or loyal to my country. I read the papers and I would like to vote, but I must not become a citizen. I have to have the Mexican trade to make a living.³

Another Mexican man told me that he did not want to become an American citizen because he would be laughed at by his fellows. The worst pain a Mexican can suffer seems to be that of ridicule. He can endure physical pain with much more courage. This man said that the others would laugh at him if, by becoming a citizen, he showed that he liked the United States better than his native Mexico. "And what is the use? They (the Americans) will call me a 'dirty greaser,' anyway," he said.⁴ He shrugged his shoulders and the subject was dismissed.

One day a group of Mexican men, standing outside a window of a social center were overheard discussing a certain Irishman (laborer) who was at that time a resident in their neighborhood. The conversation continued,⁵

Señor M. "And do you know that Mr. O'R. (the Irishman) is getting his citizenship papers? I told him to go to Miss G. (Americanization teacher). I thought that she could tell him a lot of things to do."

Señor J. "Yes, he goes to the class in the other Night School where they learn all about that. He says that he has to go to the Court for the examination in June."

³ Quoted from the writer's research materials, Series V, no. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Series V, no. 13e.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Series V, no. 13a.

Señor Q. "He can—but not I! I don't go near the Court only when I have to. I am afraid to go there. What is the use to go there if you don't have to?"

Señor M. "No use at all."

Señor T. "You have to have examination and all that? Do many people do it? They do not think very much of their own country if they do."

Señor J. "I think that not many of the Mexicans do it."

Señor Q. "What is the use anyway? Can't go around wearing papers on your sleeve. How does anybody know if you have had the examination? We would still have to go upstairs in the movie houses, live in the low parts of town, send our children to the old and ugly schools. We are still Mexicans because we look the same."

Señor Tony. "I took out my first papers. The only reason that I did it was so I could go to the War and fight. I was in the training camp only a few weeks when the War ended. I did not get far. I will not bother to take out the other papers. I don't like to pass the bad test and all that. And there is no need of it either. We can live here in this country just as well without papers as with them. My children were born here. I do not think that they will vote here, though. We will go to Mexico pretty soon, I think."

And thus ended their conversation about naturalization.

Señor J. T. and his wife, both having attended American schools, are quite Americanized in their thinking, living, dress, etc. They associate with the higher class Mexicans in their community, and are respected and liked wherever they go. One day when we were discussing the outcome of a recent court examination of candidates for American citizenship, it was remarked that there were no Mexicans at all in the group. Señor J. T. said,⁶

When I took out my papers I was the only Mexican in our group. There were only a few of us all together. I am glad that I took out my papers when I did (before 1922—Cable Act). Now my wife and I can both vote. We always talk over the politics we read in the papers. I like to vote and feel that I have a 'say' in what is go-

⁶ *Ibid.*, Series V, no. 13g.

ing on in the city and the county, especially. When we go back to Mexico it will probably be only for a visit. We have many American friends here. Most all of the Mexican people do not want to be American citizens though. I can see why they don't. They all think that they will go back to Mexico. You don't see many of them going, do you?

Some assume an apologetic air—explaining and promising, when no explanations and promises are solicited. This attitude may be affected because they feel guilty of not doing the thing they feel to be American and which Americans expect of them; or because they seem to be ungrateful; or because they fear to be “sent back” to Mexico, if they do not in some way excuse or justify themselves.

I have noticed certain Mexicans, naturalized, or born in the United States, and engaged among their people in various forms of social work, speaking of “we Americans” when talking to Americans, and of “we Mexicans” when addressing the Mexicans in Spanish. That is natural and altogether permissible, no doubt. American-born Mexicans are often *all* Mexican when conversing with Mexicans about Americans, and when speaking with Americans in a gathering where there are all Americans present, say, “we Americans,” and “the Mexican people.” I know that they are not ashamed of their racial group, for they realize that theirs is a rich heritage of which to be proud; but I do think that they are often confused in their own minds whether or not they *are* Americans.

Yet it may not be confusion. Perhaps they are trying to do the polite thing by saying what they think is expected of them at the time. The Mexican is so very courteous and gracious, that it is sometimes difficult to know what he really thinks, or what he really knows, or how he really feels.

Because he is courteous, he always agrees with what you say, especially if you are an American, a stranger, or a visitor in his home. It is often very difficult to get his opinions. An "investigator," truly seeking the Mexican's attitudes, often gets little more than a courteous reflection of his own ideas. What the Mexican really thinks can best be determined by what he does, or does not do. Unless he actually becomes naturalized, what he may say about it means nothing. Is it reasonable, then, to assume that since there are so few who are actually becoming naturalized the Mexicans as a group are not interested in American citizenship?

However the Mexican *is* making an effort to adjust himself here. In this struggle to make his adjustments—in this process so full of conflict of cultures—he is unfortunately losing much of the fine old grace of his people, and he is imitating much that is crude while he acquires some that is good. He has a wealth to contribute to this country—love of play, buoyancy of spirit, appreciation of the beautiful—if he is only given a chance to do so.

THE FILIPINO IMMIGRANT PROBLEM

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ONLY SINCE the latter part of 1927 has the Filipino immigrant in the United States been called a problem. Organized labor in two states (California and Washington) and the American Federation of Labor in 1927 and again in 1928, have taken the lead in calling attention to the increasing competition which labor in this country meets from the Filipino. In urging the exclusion of Filipino laborers from the United States, organized labor brings forward, first, the economic objection, and second, social objections.

In May, 1928, a bill was introduced into Congress which provides for the exclusion of Filipino immigrants from this country.¹ Hitherto, when providing for the exclusion of immigrants believed to be undesirable, the United States has been dealing with the citizens of other nations. In connection with the proposed Filipino exclusion, there is the special embarrassment of shutting the door in the face of the people of one of our own island possessions. Moreover, the proposed exclusion comes at a time when leading Filipinos are especially sensitive because the United States has refused to grant independence to their country. We are in the predicament of doubly offending our own proteges, of denying them independence on one hand and of shutting them out from the United States on the other.

¹ By Congressman Welsh of California at the request of his labor constituents. It is known as House Bill 13,900.

According to the plan for excluding the Filipinos, the United States must reverse its action of 1924. In connection with the Quota Law of 1924² the Filipinos as citizens of islands controlled by the United States were declared not to be aliens. They are therefore under no particular restrictions with reference to coming to the United States. Unlike the Japanese and Chinese, who are excluded, they can come without restriction as to numbers. All that they need to do is to prove that they were born in the Philippines.

The Welsh Bill would reverse the law of 1924 and put the Filipinos under the classification of "aliens." But aliens ineligible to citizenship are excluded from the United States.³ The Filipinos being neither "whites" nor "Negroes" are classed as Mongolians and hence are ineligible to citizenship. Thus, they would be excluded by the simple device of shifting them from the non-alien to the alien classification.⁴

The legality of such an enactment apparently would stand. No competent authority seems to feel that either the Constitution of the United States or previous legislation would be violated. The more serious phase of the matter is the ill-will (additional to that already felt) toward the United States which would be engendered.

The Filipino immigrant problem has been defined clearly by organized labor on the Coast.⁵ Under date of February, 1929, Paul Scharrenburg⁶ states the case with his characteristic vigor.⁷

² Section 28.

³ By the Immigration Act of 1924.

⁴ As proposed in the Welsh Bill.

⁵ Particularly in the states of Washington and California.

⁶ Secretary-treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor.

⁷ "The Philippine Problem," in *Public Affairs*, Honolulu, Feb. 1929, 49-54.

His argument may be summed up under the following headings: (1) White workers on the Coast have been displaced by Filipinos with their lower wage and living standards. "Filipinos have taken the place of white workers in the culinary trades; they have displaced white bell boys and elevator operators, and made it more and more difficult for white hotel maids to find employment. Steamships in the highly protected coastwise trade have been manned with Filipinos while American seamen are vainly walking the docks looking for jobs."⁸ There are no figures available to show how extensive is this displacement. That such displacements are occurring is self-evident, however, to those at all conversant with these fields.

(2) Closely related to the foregoing situation is an atmosphere of fear based on the knowledge that the immigration of Filipinos is unlimited and that increasing numbers are arriving. In other words there is the belief that the possible immigration of Filipinos may soon create another Oriental problem on the Coast. Again, accurate figures are missing. Only by estimates and indirection can they be given. The two main sources of Filipino immigration of course, are the Hawaiian Islands to which the Filipinos are stimulated to come as contract laborers by the Hawaiian planters, and the Philippines themselves. A number of Filipino laborers come first to the Hawaiian Islands where they receive from \$1.00 to \$1.50 a day as compared with fifty cents a day in the Philippines. They come as contract laborers. When in the Hawaiian Islands, if not before, they learn of wages of \$2.50 and \$3.00 paid in the United States, and naturally desire to come hither.⁹ The Filipino population of the Hawaiian Islands is esti-

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁹ *Ibid.*

mated at 50,000 or more, while the population of the Philippines is perhaps 12,000,000. The immediate annual migration to the United States from the Philippines may be estimated at six to eight thousand.¹⁰ There is an additional ten to twelve thousand leaving the Philippines for the Hawaiian Islands annually, of whom considerable numbers sooner or later move on to the United States.¹¹ The size of the present Filipino population in the United States is unknown but may be between 50,000 and 70,000. In Los Angeles County an estimate of 6,000 to 9,000 is given by Russell E. Clay.¹² Figures of 20,000 for California and 60,000 for the United States are conservative. There are undoubtedly some grounds for the fears of organized labor.

In agriculture there is no particular labor competition felt on account of Filipino immigrants. Filipinos are generally given third or fourth choice by the orchardists and ranchers.¹³ They are not well suited to do heavy ranch labor and hence seek the restaurant, porter, and similar jobs. They are ambitious to get ahead, and seek advancement. They turn toward cities.

In the Imperial Valley, California, where the Filipinos first joined the labor groups in 1916,¹⁴ they still remain very much in the minority.

In industries related to fruit and vegetable farming, such as box factories, the Filipinos are replacing white laborers.

¹⁰ Based on figures furnished to Mr. Scharrenburg by the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Washington.

¹¹ Filipino laborers migrating to Hawaii from the Philippines for the fifteen-year period ending January 1, 1926, numbered 74,242. Those returning to the Philippines during the same period numbered only 15,601. ("Filipino Contract Laborers in Hawaii," *Monthly Labor Review*, 23:685.)

¹² From manuscript, Rainwater Library of Sociology, University of Southern California, p. 12.

¹³ From unpublished manuscript by special investigators.

¹⁴ See Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States*, Univ. of California Publications in Economics, Berkeley, 1928, pp. 7, 8.

According to frequent reports they "are quick to learn, are fast workers, and will hire out for less wages than must be paid to Europeans doing the same kind of work." They have almost entirely replaced white men in the box factories of certain cities.

Labor turnover among Filipinos appears to be high. They are high-spirited, restless, and many change positions frequently. Many are attractive, polite, willing, and much in demand. The Filipino Labor Bureaus in Los Angeles report increasing demands for Filipino laborers.¹⁵

In the cities their struggle to get ahead is blocked by race prejudice. They are commonly classed as Orientals and Mongolians. Many who are college graduates can find nothing to do except domestic service. The professions are not open to them to any extent. They cannot practice law, for example, in California (since they are not citizens). They cannot become citizens (because they are not "whites" nor of "African descent").

Organized labor's anti-Filipino attitudes run true to form. Naturally jealous of the high standards achieved for American labor, organized labor does not react against Filipinos as Filipinos, but as a group whose presence endangers American labor standards. As stated by an accredited labor spokesman, American labor feels sympathetic toward Filipinos, but cannot afford to allow its sympathy for other races to overcome its obligations to its own members.¹⁶

(3) Poor health and low morals are charged against certain types of Filipino immigrants by organized labor. At this point we must beware of generalization and divide Filipinos into groups, such as those who are here for educational purposes, those who have become high grade la-

¹⁵ Russell E. Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁶ From letter in possession of writer.

borers, and then those who are still low grade laborers. It is the last-mentioned group to which the remonstrations of organized labor apply. There are probably many low-grade Filipinos coming from Hawaii who are badly diseased and who have sunk low morally. The need for the exclusion of these is clear, but not for the exclusion of all Filipinos, and certainly not of all belonging to the higher classes.

The fact that most of the Filipinos who are here are young men, that almost no young Filipino women are in this country, represents a serious situation. There is little home or family life for the Filipino immigrants. On the other hand they can hardly be blamed for the failure of Filipino girls and women to migrate here. A serious dilemma is the result.

The intermarriage situation is unique. In several states of the Union, including Arizona, California, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Filipinos may not freely marry "whites."¹⁷ Classed as Mongolians, they come under the marriage laws prohibiting intermarriage of Mongolians and Caucasians. Although the Filipino is specifically cited as not being an alien, yet he cannot marry Caucasian persons (in several states). He is in a peculiar position—he is not an alien, neither is he a citizen, neither can he become a citizen. Although Malayan or partly Spanish, he is not Mongolian, but may be classed as such.

Not being married, the Filipinos live in boarding and rooming houses. Their need of contacts within American homes is great. Filipino pool halls is one of their main gathering places. Filipino employment bureaus furnish some social facilities. Filipino clubs and classes (church) serve useful purposes. The Filipino immigrant has a good

¹⁷ Geoffrey May, *Marriage Laws and Decisions in the United States*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1929.

record as far as refraining from drinking liquor is concerned. A vice frequently mentioned is quarreling among themselves, such as is characteristic of a number of other peoples.

(4) Another charge brought against the Filipino is that he is unassimilable. This is untrue if by assimilation is meant inability to join in a culture process and to become "like us" in certain fundamentals.¹⁸ While he cannot become a citizen by law, he can do so in a real way if shown a helpful spirit. But to accuse him of not being assimilable is to use terms ill-advisedly, as well as to express wishful thinking and race prejudice. It is this prejudice against him which the Filipino deplores most. Because of it he is not admitted to Caucasian homes, he is blocked occupationally, he is hindered in marrying, he is denied "privileges" in certain Y.M.C.A.'s, he is prevented from becoming a citizen, his status is not recognized or it is deliberately lowered, he is kept out of the better-class dancing halls, theaters, and restaurants.

The present situation represents two extreme positions. On one hand the Filipino is admitted freely to our country; on the other hand, his opponents would exclude him entirely. Both positions are subject to serious criticism. Unlimited immigration needs definite modification, but it is unnecessary to go to the opposite pole. An adequate solution must take into consideration Filipino culture and personality traits.¹⁹

¹⁸ Of course real assimilation is a joint process, not of becoming "like us," but through a give-and-take process, of building a higher culture out of the two interacting cultures.

¹⁹ Filipino traits have been discussed by Porteous and Babcock (*Temperament and Race*, Badger, 1926, ch. VI). Visayan, Tagalog, and Ilocano traits are treated separately. In summary, Porteous and Babcock refer to the Filipino as possessing an instability of interest, and as being especially subject to group imitation and to suggestibility. Moodiness is mentioned as well as pathological distrust and suspicion. Super-sensitiveness, racial ego, self-esteem, obtrusiveness, are described as Filipino traits; high emotionalism, impulsiveness, explosive temperament, ostentation and love of display are also cited. Porteous and Babcock's analysis needs to be supplemented by a discussion of the worthy traits of the Filipinos.

To work out a just procedure includes the consideration of our labor standards and at the same time the feelings and good will of a rapidly developing people living under our own jurisdiction.²⁰ The establishment of a special Federal Commission with adequate representation given to the Filipinos, is a natural first step. Careful inquiry, under the direction of a duly accredited body, into the immigration situation could give the data which are needed as a basis for solving the problem. In the meantime, there is need that temporary limitations be instituted by the Governor-General of the Philippines which will be satisfactory to both Filipinos and Americans. Admission of Filipinos under definite control with reference to their personal standing and racial status, and to our social and economic situations would seem to be a reasonable standard to adopt, until a better procedure could be developed.

²⁰ Our traditional policy of considering immigration legislation entirely a matter of domestic policy is undergoing change. The proposal of organized labor to put the Mexicans on the quota, for instance, was met by the objection of large-scale employers and even of President Coolidge in February, 1928, that such a plan would be considered an affront by Mexico. Our immigration legislation thus begins to take into consideration the reactions of the foreign countries concerned.

Book Notes

STANDING ROOM ONLY. By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS. The Century Co., 1927, pp. xiv+368.

Professor Ross marshals many statistics and a wide range of materials in support of the proposition that since five-sixths of the world's population has not applied "any brake to its fertility," the remaining one-sixth must maintain strict barriers against immigration. The inequality of population pressure is growing greater. An excellent summary is given by Professor Ross of important population particulars which did not exist in Malthus' day. Famine is being muzzled, disease conquered, pestilence throttled, and public health promoted. Population presses on food supply, especially in the case of large families among the poor. There is increasing difficulty being experienced "in normal times by the industrious and frugal in obtaining the necessities of life." As "the outthrust of Asiatic populations" becomes greater, it is important that the Immigration Barrier against them be administered with consideration lest the Asiatic peoples combine against and overwhelm the West. Throughout the volume, the author speaks boldly, supporting his views with a wealth of data. With sharp invective the author discloses a style at times, for example, in the chapter on "The Population Boosters," closely similar to that characteristic of one of his earliest books, namely, *Sin and Society*. This book supplements well Kuczynski's *Balance of Births and Deaths* with its argument that the English, French and other peoples are dying out. E.S.B.

THE NEGRO IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN LITERATURE. By ELIZABETH LAY GREEN. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1928, pp. 94.

Mrs. Green's outline for individual and group study of the negro in contemporary American literature is a splendid little contribution by one who has sought to emphasize the artistic attainments of the negro in American literature. It will undoubtedly prove to be of much value to students of negro life. Poetry, Drama, Fiction, and Criticism are the four main headings under which are placed fourteen distinctive study outlines. These are splendidly conceived and

thoughtfully analyzed, with a presentation of the most important references pertaining thereto. Throughout, the work shows the sympathetic interest displayed by the author for whatever achievements the negro has accomplished in the listed artistic endeavors. I note one important contribution, however, which was deserving of analysis: I refer to Mr. Walter White's *The Fire in the Flint* which might well have been included in Chapter XII. The outline will undoubtedly be revised from time to time, and it is to be hoped that Mrs. Green will seek to incorporate sociological aims. Then, the work will become truly significant.

M. J. V.

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES.

By E. K. WICKMAN. The Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1928, pp. 247.

A work of this kind is of unique importance, because it shows new possibilities of social research in connection with the public schools, and it is revealing with reference to the nature of attitudes and of some of the processes of social interaction. "How teachers behave when children misbehave" has been suggested as a substitute title. Another emphasis that is also involved although the author does not bring it out is: How teachers misbehave when children misbehave. Interesting data on the occupational attitudes of teachers are given. For instance, it is shown that teachers stress the importance of problems relating to sex, dishonesty, disobedience, disorderliness, and failure to learn. By contrast mental hygienists have the occupational attitude of discounting antisocial conduct and rate important such traits as withdrawing and recessiveness. The latter, however, do not disturb teachers greatly. The misbehavior of teachers is shown in the ways that they counter-attack the attacking types of pupils and that they indulge the withdrawing types. In each case "the undesirable expressions of social behavior are further entrenched." Attitudes are given a threefold connotation, including habitual modes of *regarding* things, of *behaving* toward them, and of *expressing opinions* concerning them. The results of the inquiry are on the whole valuable.

E. S. B.

DIE MASSE UND IHRE AKTION. Ein Beitrag zur Sociologie der Revolutionen, von THEODOR GEIGER. *Verlag Ferdinand Enke in Stuttgart*, pp. 194.

In 1866 there appeared the first contribution to crowd psychology, in Germany: a book by F. C. Fresenius entitled, *The Nature of the Crowd*. Since that time quite a number of articles have been written about that subject. Only one book has gained world-wide attention and is considered as the standard work: *Psychology of Crowds*, by G. Le Bon.

In *Die Masse*, Geiger, who is Professor of Sociology in Braunschweig (Germany), has written a sharp criticism of Le Bon's theses and we dare say that he exposes some quite remarkable views. After an examination of the fundamentals of the problems, he treats extensively of the revolutionary crowd and gives in a closing chapter entitled "Crowd psychology" a polemic appendix which is mainly directed against Le Bon. Although on the one side, Geiger has not succeeded in proving that Le Bon is quite wrong in his views, and although on the other side, he is not always so new in his critique as he thinks himself to be, we may say that he has written a very remarkable book.

L. H. Ad. Geck

THE STRIKE. By E. T. HILLER. University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. xvi+304.

Social processes and human nature are revealed herein rather than programs and policies. New light on group psychology is given, and on group loyalty, conditions of morale, group control, and public opinion. The author traces what he aptly calls the life-cycle of a typical strike. He finds a number of different phases of the strike cycle, such as: (1) preliminary organization, (2) concerted action, (3) maintaining group morale, (4) controlling strike breakers, (5) neutralizing the maneuvers of the employer, (6) influencing public opinion, and (7) demobilization (p. 10). This outline is carefully developed into a number of chapters, all of which are well documented. This book contains what may be called the first sociology of the strike. The close relation of the major theme to a scientific analysis of revolutions and war is evident. New light is thrown on the nature of social distance between employer and employee.

E. S. B.

FIELD STUDIES IN SOCIOLOGY. A Student's Manual. By VIVIAN M. PALMER. University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. xix+281.

In this pioneer work a new way is blazed for teachers of introductory sociology. The Manual is based on extensive experience over a term of years in teaching Sociology I (for sophomores) by a unique field laboratory method. No longer need sociology be a pure library subject; no longer need it be a theoretical subject for beginners.

Part I deals with sociological research methods, with special attention being given to social case analysis. Part II gives type-study outlines. Three types of groups are suggested for the beginning student to examine: the territorial group, the interest group, and the accommodation or immigrant group. The last-mentioned, however, seems to be limited to students who are themselves immigrants or who speak the language of a given immigrant group. While each type outline is elaborated and worked out for a large city situation, it could doubtless be modified by an original teacher for use in small city or college town areas.

Part III is devoted to "Techniques" and presents clear-cut discussions of the research interview, the diary, the research map, documentation, and the interpretation of case materials. A library of case materials concerning whole areas may be built up by a teacher who encourages each succeeding group of students to proceed from the points of research where preceding groups have finished their work.

In discarding the old survey method for "the new social research," the author has given a new impetus to sociological study and suggested a procedure for putting the teaching of sociology on a new level. Novel suggestions are made throughout the treatise, such as an analysis chart whereby data are arranged chronologically in vertical columns and horizontally by significant topics. The appendices are full of illustrative materials. Although many of the ideas advanced need perfecting, their epoch-making significance will not be overlooked by discerning teachers of sociology. E. S. B.

MARY McDOWELL, NEIGHBOR. By HOWARD D. WILSON. University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. xiii+235.

In this unique and vibrant life history of a versatile personality are found many significant factors, such as: (1) Her determination to get facts as a basis for intelligent action. (2) Her investigations

led to public health and welfare efficiency for a whole metropolitan city. (3) She became known as "fighting Mary" as a result of her efforts in behalf of the ten-hour law for women. (4) She was claimed as the friend of the colored folk, because she treated them as persons and not as members of a race or type. (5) She won the title of "garbage lady," when she led the investigation for the disposal of garbage and championed the need for scientific disposal. (6) She received the sobriquet of social politician in return for service as Chicago's Commissioner of Public Welfare, and as a result of her demand for politicians who would respond to the city's needs. (7) She was a neighbor with "a friendly attitude of mind," to all who came her way. She was and is a guardian angel of the needy everywhere. The author has done his work with a fine sense of social values and has put all the friends of Miss McDowell under lasting obligations.

E. M. P.

THE PROBLEM PLAY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON MODERN
THOUGHT AND LIFE. By RAMSDEN BALMFORTH. Henry
Holt and Company, New York, 1928, pp. 155.

The social significance of the drama in this day of the threatening decline and decay of the legitimate theatre is a problem which needs to be clearly and thoroughly investigated. Mr. Balmforth is one of those, in like mind with the present reviewer, that the drama may influence the public mind. I wish that he could really prove this by actual demonstration. It is a task that someone should undertake. Censorship of the drama would seem to indicate that the guardians of the public morals believe that drama may have a baneful influence, but when one comes to look for any proposals that drama may possibly have the opposite effect, the elevation of the public morals, such pronouncements are rare. To be sure, there are dramatists, like Brieux, Shaw, and Galsworthy, who implicitly believe in the theatre as a directive force, but aside from their utterances confirming these beliefs, we have never had any real extensive research which would definitely establish these beliefs as truisms. It would be of great value, then, to really know just how human action has been changed or directed by the presentation of certain dramas. It would place censorship upon a scientific basis for one thing. Censors merely take it for granted that the thing which they ban would have a harmful influence; do they really have any good evidence to back their assertions? Would it be possible to say of a drama, that it had actu-

ally changed the behavior of one or many of the spectators? Could we say that any drama, like the novel "Uncle Tom's Cabin," might be counted as one of the indirect causes of a mass movement?

Mr. Balmforth's book is interestingly written and indicates the social, ethical, economic and religious problems of a score of plays. His analysis is splendid throughout, and there is a penetrating insight into the deep underlying significances of the plays discussed. It may be of course that these same purposes do reach the spectators in many intangible ways which would defy explanation, and yet that ought to be capable of revelation in some way. I thoroughly agree with the author's splendid criticism of the plays, and it would be more than satisfactory if one could feel assured that an audience, upon seeing one of these plays, would be affected as Mr. Balmforth writes about it. It is to be hoped that the author will be moved to delve into the question more deeply in some later book. M.J.V.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE and N. N. SEN-GUPTA. D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1928, pp. xv+304.

The first interesting point to be noted about this book is the fact that it is written by two Indian scholars. Although it has its distinctive features, yet it reads enough like the works of Occidental writers to identify it as being one of them. Special features include the tracing "from its beginnings the influence of the group on the content and pattern of the individual's mind and behavior," an attempt "to reveal the mechanism through which the group shapes the course of human life," and a discussion of social psychoses. Significant light is shed on the authors' standpoint by the subtitle, namely, "Mind in Society." The role of the mental processes in collective behavior is the main starting-point. Stimulus and response patterns are basic to the authors' thought. Interesting concepts are: social fluidity, methods of repressional relief, social relaxations, value-situations. The influences of sociology, cultural anthropology, and individual psychology are strong in this work. The point of view is seen in the following statement: "The foundation or basis of the group is a series of responses evoked from a number of individuals by a stimulus, and modified by another set of responses mutually evoked by the individuals in action." The "individual" thus bulks large. The "group" is also considered important. Social processes, however, are not given equal space in this unique treatise. E.S.B.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF RAILROADS. By WALTER M. W. SPLAVIN. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928, pp. xiv+478.

Professor Splavin has accomplished a fine thing in this book—he has successfully pictured the cases both for and against government ownership and operation of railroads without fear, favor or prejudice. And the method which he has used is largely responsible for his success. He has undertaken to portray the railroad situations in many countries, including the United States, and therefore he gives the reader a wealth of knowledge for the foundation of his conclusions. This gives the book a high value as a source of information. As the author points out, his research into foreign railroad experience serves to reveal that the people of the United States can hardly expect to look in that quarter for policies which will be profitable. Foreign methods are valuable for purposes of comparison, however. A peculiar aspect of the home situation is that private ownership here evolved as a result of rather wide experience with state ownership and operation of canals. The discussion is non-partisan insofar as the author is concerned, and his purpose, "to disclose clearly what issues are involved in a proposal to change over from private to government management and to point out what should be demonstrated before such a change is contemplated" is admirably fulfilled. The value of the book is further enhanced by the array of statistical charts showing the operating costs and earnings of the railways of the world under private ownership and under governmental regulation and ownership.

M. J. V.

THE GHETTO. By LOUIS WIRTH. University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. xvi+306.

The author moves along with scholarly care and scientific insight into a wide range of historical, descriptive, and sociological data. The book might have been called historical and sociological analyses of the Jews. As far as the Ghetto is concerned, the author begins with the voluntary congregating of Jews into given spots which were later made legal entities, and from which the more enterprising members have ever sought to escape. Once given the Ghetto marks, the Jew has had many difficulties in becoming accepted in the outside world. After having braved the battles outside, some Jews have returned for refuge to the Ghetto, but most have made adjustments, enabling the author to speak of the Ghetto in dissolution and of the vanishing Ghetto. The Ghetto in Chicago is used as a first-hand laboratory, a natural area, for sociological observation. The Jew is

Ghetto-made, and as such his anomalous position in the world becomes understood. A splendid bibliography concludes this many-sided racial analysis.

E. S. B.

BORN THAT WAY. By JOHNSON O'CONNOR. Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1928, pp. 323.

This is an important book in the field of human relations research. Based upon the assertion that man-power in industry is the most important factor to be found there and that there are more kinds of men in industry than there are kinds of machines and materials but less known of the human values and capacities, the book undertakes to show the author's results in experimentation with these same human values and capacities. It is presumed that that workman is most contented and efficient when his capabilities are fully and successfully utilized in any given task. Granting this, the problem becomes one of ascertaining a standardized yard-stick of measurement which when applied will tend to forecast the capabilities of the applicant for the job. The author has prepared and used many devices purporting to discover the innate capacities of persons to cope with those situations which will be comparable to those met with in the particular processes of the future position. As with intelligence tests, these industrial tests afford probably as good a preliminary test as any yet devised for the purposes of detecting the initial skill in the task to be undertaken, and the evidence put in view by the author seems to show that at the same time the probabilities of future performances may be forecasted. I suppose this means that if environmental and other conditions remain constant. But do they? A doubtful assertion is made, and that is that the workmen of today are hired for their ability to advance as well as for their present fitness for a designated task. I believe that this can be successfully challenged, however.

The author is a firm believer in the theory of inherited ability and the reader who sympathizes with this point of view will find it easy to agree with most of the declarations in the book. If one is an extreme environmentalist, the digest will be rather difficult. There are some very good conclusions drawn by Mr. O'Connor, one of which might be quoted—"human engineers must make every effort to broaden individuals, to bring into play more muscles, more senses, and a larger portion of the personality, and never limit functions to specialized groups." The last half of the book is devoted to an explanation and presentation of the tests for ability and skill in pursuing definite tasks.

M. J. V.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN FRONTIER. By WILLIAM CHRISTIE MACLEOD. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928, pp. xxiii+598.

Frontier movements are apt to be highly melodramatic in their intensity, and Professor Macleod's presentation of the colorful pageantry of the highly dynamic American Indian frontier utilizes fully and well all the strikingly picaresque features of the movement under discussion. Reading his account, it is as though a powerful projector had been focused upon the vivid backgrounds of one of the most unique dramas in history. One is inclined to sit back in expectant excitement to witness a spectacle that begins with a burst of flaring trumpets and wild joyous ecstasy and that ends with but a remnant of tragic solitary figures beaten and crumpled with despair. It would be a unique achievement to put this pen picture before the public by means of a moving picture, for the author has provided the material for a wonderful scenario.

Beginning with a discussion on the origins of the American Indian, and their early culture patterns, the author sketches the Indian modes of living, their aptitudes and attitudes. Then come the conquerors and the consequent conflicts of cultural traits. The Spaniards, the French, and the English arrive upon the scene in turn. A powerfully drawn description shows the beating back of the Indian from the Atlantic coast to the next frontier line in the interior. Sociologically important is the narrative devoted to the origins of hate and race prejudice, with the Indians as the fated figures. Stalking through the pages are the heroic Powhatan, King Philip, Tecumseh, and Pontiac. Truly epic in character, this panorama. And finally, is depicted the modern restrained status of the Indian engulfed by the eddying currents of an empire.

Strikingly essential is the exposition of the conflict of cultural traits brought about by the advent of the white men. The partial assimilation of European agricultural methods would have resulted satisfactorily, in the opinion of the author, if the Indians had not been constantly interrupted by wars with the onrushing whites. The advent of the horse was unfortunate in its effects, making the Indians more nomadic, restless, proud, and less agriculturally inclined. To white economic interference with the fur trade the blame is laid for the dissemination of disease, alcohol, and firearms. It is interesting to note how frontier mobility was caused by cultural borrowing and adaptation. The entire book may be read with profit by those interested in cultural contacts. I regard the writing of the *American Indian Frontier* as a distinctly worthwhile achievement.

M. J. V.

THE STAMMERING CENTURY. By GILBERT SELDES. The John Day Co., New York, 1928, pp. xviii+411.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES. By CHARLES W. FERGUSON. Doubleday, Doran and Co., New York, 1928, pp. 464.

Reflective of a growing popular demand in cultural curiosities, these two books are of exceptional interest to students of mob-mindedness, the first volume picturing American eccentricity and fanaticism during the nineteenth century while the second is concerned with modern fads, cults, and isms. Of the two Mr. Seldes has the broader scope, seeking "to connect these secondary movements and figures with the primary forces of the century, and to supply a background in American history for the cults and manias of our own time." Disjointed "commonplaces and oddities," ranging from the hair-curling of Cincinnati males to female education, are peppered in random fashion before each chapter to give inklings of the mores of the period, but, apart from such linkages as frontier loneliness and revivalism, or rising capitalism and New Thought, the cultural correlations are more suggested than established.

The years were unkind to Jonathan Edwards' theology, but his method, his paraphernalia of revivalism, improved in material and technique by Finney, Moody, and others, continues to draw breath. Communist colonies, such as the Rappites, New Harmony, and Oneida, sprang up after each great American revival. This spiritual struggle for perfection, enlisting leaders as diverse as Mrs. Bloomer and Robert Matthews ("the Messianic murderer"), Mrs. Carry A. Nation and Chicago's John Dowie, degenerated "later into the ambition to make men healthy, cultured, and terribly rich." "Quackery was to come to the crossroads between science and religion. One division chose science and, never forsaking quackery, created patent medicines, electric belts, and manipulative systems. The other chose religion and created cults with miracle-working Messiahs." Whatever the source of the materials they were always naturalized into our own culture pattern. Even the lethargic Yoga doctrine of stifling ambition was Americanized into a means of exalting individuality.

The Confusion of Tongues, eschewing causes and motives, is frankly a "descriptive book on the (modern) religious scene" with an eye for the odd and attractive. Nevertheless such lively chapters as those on Russellism, the Dukhobors, New Thought, the Unity School of Christianity with its up-to-date mail order tactics, Ku Kluxism, Liberal Catholicism, McPhersonism, and Christian Science, together with the "brief dictionary" of some fifty-four outstanding sects in the appendix, are sufficient in themselves, leaving to others the more minute problems of why the Mennonites are especially given to sect-making, why religious hotchpotches show undue affinity for certain localities, or why Buchmanism has a special appeal for modern college youth. There is Theosophy with its national atmosphere, composed of thought-entities disseminated into the astral atmosphere, "by which the conduct of us all is more or less moulded," and Atheism, "indebted to religionists" for its "ideas and catchphrases"—"by several howls the most fervent and evangelical cult in the United States today.

In Sociology as in Anatomy the fantastic or monstrous frequently throws into greater clarity the normal or conventional. In spite of their straining after public favor and their occasional overlappings, these two volumes afford unusual standards for comparison and stimulating suggestions for detailed study in social causation. Perhaps after all there is too much of the exotic *Golden Bough* in our religious treatises and too little of the rich lore of the Bahais, Shakers, or Spiritualists; too much of remote Australian magic and too little of the House of David.

N. N. PUCKETT

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MARRIAGE LAWS AND DECISIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. By **GEORGE FREY MAY**. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1929, pp. 476. This is an invaluable manual, giving a summary of the laws regulating marriage in all the states of the United States, the law of the District of Columbia, and the federal law. Legislation in force at the end of 1927 and decisional law in print up to the end of 1926 are given. The materials for each state are arranged under several main heads such as: marriage license, solemnization, marriage record, state supervision, interstate relations, sex offenses and marriage, proper civil and racial status. The volume is highly important as a reference work and as a basis for making a number of comparative studies.

OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION. Second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1929, pp. 185. The materials are divided into three parts. Dr. David Snedden conducts an interesting dialogue between an educator and a sociologist; Dr. C. C. Peters discusses education objectives; and P. W. L. Cox treats of educational sociology and social education. The reader will find these materials stimulating.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF SOCIETY. By **CARL KELSEY**. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1928, pp. xxii+526. The first edition, published twelve years ago, has been rewritten and enlarged. The new work is a marvelous compendium of facts succinctly stated about the physical, biological, and cultural bases of society. The materials are well organized and the treatment moves cumulatively forward.

PROPAGANDA. By **EDWARD L. BERNAYS**. Horace Liveright, New York, 1928, pp. 159. Drawing upon a wealth of public contacts and especially centering his attention on "the public relations counsel," the author has produced a book with a popular appeal and a publicist's outlook. Many practical observations are made concerning the increasing role that propaganda is playing in modern life.

THE PATRIOTISM OF PEACE. By **LOWELL H. COATE**. Newllano, Louisiana, 1929, pp. 153. In a calm dispassionate style, the author marshals facts and data in strong support of "the patriotism of peace" and of the outlawry of war. People who stand unqualifiedly in support of peace are the real patriots is the main argument.

INFLUENCING MEN IN BUSINESS. By **WALTER D. SCOTT** and **D. T. HOWARD**. The Ronald Press, New York, 1928, pp. 172, third edition. In this new edition of an old book, there are many practical helps with reference to the use of suggestion in business—based on a sound psychology.

RECENT SOCIAL CHANGES. Edited by **WILLIAM F. OGBURN**. University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. xiii+230. This book is a reprint of the American Journal of Sociology for July, 1928. It was reviewed in the November-December issue of Sociology and Social Research.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT. **JAMES W. GARVER**. American Book Co., Chicago, 1928, pp. x+831. This volume is replete with facts and with discussions of different systems and functions of government. The student thereby is able to make comparative studies.

TRAINING CHILDREN. By **W. H. PYLE**, Century Co., 1929, pp. ix+206. Splendid as a study book for parents, this book states in simple language some of the psychological principles of early childhood and makes useful suggestions for putting them into effect.

PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By **ERNEST R. GROVES**. Longmans Green & Co., New York, Fourth Printing, pp. ix+296.

Periodical Notes

Characteristics of the Non-Naturalized. Four thousand foreign-born persons in the city of Chicago were interviewed in order to get certain social data regarding naturalized citizens, declarants, and non-declarants for purposes of comparison. Statistics are given showing the length of residence, occupation, marital condition, age groupings, schooling and knowledge of government. "The comparison of the characteristics of a selected group of naturalized and non-naturalized adult immigrants has brought to light the fact that sex, newness to the country, extreme youth, bachelorhood, a lack of family cares and responsibilities, a lack of schooling, and a lack of knowledge regarding American political institutions are all factors more or less closely related to non-naturalization." Young bachelors and women show less interest than others in citizenship. H. F. Gosnell, *The American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1929, pp. 847-55.

History of Ethnological Theories. A brief survey and critical appraisal of the historic theories of primitive mentality, beginning with Tylor's evolutionary theory, together with his notions of the multiple origin of culture, cultural survivals and animism. Frazer and other British writers have likewise stressed the evolutionary character of mentality. In America there has been a decided reaction against the uncritical acceptance of the evolutionary theory. Boas ushered in a period of rigorous analytical method. He accepted the theory of multiple origins and equated the mentality and culture of primitive peoples with that of illiterates among ourselves. The differences in the mentality of primitive and civilized peoples are more apparent than real. Levy-Bruhl, though emanating directly from Durkheim, who did not stress differences in mentality, claims that primitive mentality is quite different in kind from our own. Primitive peoples are pre-logical and mystical in their thinking. Levy-Bruhl assumes collective representations and the fixity of culture. Psychoanalysts, such as Freud, Jung and Adler, have not made a very great contribution to the analysis of primitive mentality. Paul Radin, *American Anthropologist*, January-March, 1929, pp. 9-33.

Rural-Urban Relations in the Chicago Dairy District. The project, which was initiated by the Commission on the Church and Industry of the Chicago Church Federation and participated in by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches, "was a study of economic relationships existing between the dairy farmers in the Chicago 'milk-shed' and the milk distributors, the dairy employees of Chicago and the municipality itself. Attention was focused on the ethical aspects of the relationships." The report presents an analysis of a series of conflicts between producers, distributors, and consumers of milk. Chicago consumes about a pint of milk per person per day, coming from 300,000 cows on 35,000 dairy farms in 6 states, and it is estimated that 100,000 people are engaged in the various processes incident to supplying the milk. The conflicts pertained to prices, bargaining and quality of milk. *Information Service*, Department of Research of the Federal Council of Churches, December 1, 1928, pp. 1-8.

Suggestions for the Sociological Study of Problem Children. The problem of the child must be approached through the avenue of the individual case study in order to get the proper focus on him. To have a complete photograph of the child the medical and psychological examinations and psychiatric diagnosis must be supplemented by a sociological investigation, which consists largely of interviews and observations in the field. The proposed sociological record includes such objective data as: (1) description of the child: physical traits, habits, character and disposition, school record, participation and social status; (2) the family: background history, economic status, organization and control, tensions and conflicts, character and personality traits of members of the family; (3) the neighborhood: location, character of population, organizing forces and agencies, and social disorganization. The subjective data include: (1) the story of the difficulty; (2) the child's life history as told by himself; (3) the child's world: his reactions to his family, neighborhood, school, and work; participation, social status, and conception of rôle; dominant wishes and ambitions. Directions as to procedure are likewise given. Walter C. Reckless, *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, November, 1928, pp. 156-71.

International Notes

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT, in its organizational aspects, is greatly overrated according to Walter W. Van Kirk who has been writing a series of articles on the subject for the *Christian Science Monitor*. Many of the organizations of youth that developed in various countries after the war have now disappeared; a few are still functioning in a more or less unorganized way, much as they did during their inception, and others have been brought under the wings of political and religious bodies.

The spirit and convictions back of the movement are still running strong, however, and they are more constructive than destructive in their nature. In this regard, Mr. Kirk says of the young people of today, "They want injustices uprooted and wrongs righted, but they want these and other changes brought about through the application of a sound moral judgment to the problems of industry and economics, of race and world relations. Youth, in general, is committed to the evolutionary as against the revolutionary hypothesis of progress. Youth is concerned not so much with the tearing-down process as with the building-up process."

Mr. Kirk also insists that the use of liquor among American students has been greatly overdrawn by undue publicity of a few cases of drunkenness. He supports his contention by marshalling evidence from hundreds of heads of highschools, colleges, and universities; and concludes that documentary evidence does not exist and cannot be produced that drunkenness is the order of the day on the average American campus. On the other hand, he points out that American youth and the youth of more than thirty other countries have societies that are actively opposing intemperance in drink.

CHILD SLAVERY IN CEYLON is now combated by the recently organized Child Protection Society. The mayor of Colombo has promised that drastic means will be used to eradicate the evil. In April, one taskmaster was fined seventy-five rupees for the inhumane beating of an eight year old boy. The press is giving the movement strong support.

THE NATIONAL ORIGINS IMMIGRATION LAW was proclaimed by President Hoover with his protest. He says, "While I am strongly in favor of restricted and solicited immigration, I have opposed the national origins basis. I, therefore, naturally dislike the duty of issuing the proclamation and installing the new basis, but the President of the United States must be the first to obey the law." In the opinion of the Attorney-General, the law made it mandatory for the President to issue the proclamation.

The new law, if not repealed by Congress, will become effective July 1. It reduces immigration to this country from 164,667 to 153,714; and is based on the percentages of the various nationalities in the United States as indicated by the 1920 census. Strong opposition has arisen to the "national origins" features of the new measure and this opposition will attempt to have the law repealed or modified before it becomes operative.

THE NANKING GOVERNMENT is gradually gaining in her control of Manchuria. Subsidiaries to the Chinese-Eastern Railway are being taken over one by one, and some believe that the Chinese will eventually assume control of the entire system. At Harbin, they have seized the telephone system installed by the Russian railway company. The Soviet government has protested but has taken no further action.

A strong group in Moscow, however, are suggesting that the Chinese be relieved from the restrictive provisions of the 1924 treaty which gave the Soviet Government certain rights in Manchuria. But the Soviet government is not so minded and is now thinking of either selling her rights to Japan or joining hands with that country in the protection of their mutual interests.

OLD AGE PENSIONS are now in operation, in one form or another, in nearly forty nations. Canada has recently enacted a Federal-Provincial system which has been applied in four provinces. Denmark is now working to revamp her present law in a manner which will make it possible for all persons over sixty-five years of age to get a substantial pension. In the United States, Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and Kentucky have adopted old age pension laws; and such laws are up for consideration in many other states of the Union.

Social Research Notes

AT THE April meeting of the Social Research Clinic of the University of Southern California, Samuel H. Jameson presented tentative findings of his case analysis of five social welfare organizations in Los Angeles. After indicating the detailed nature of the extensive case studies which he has made, Mr. Jameson discussed the indices of organizational status, presenting a total of fourteen such indices, such as the standing of the leaders of the given organization, the financial condition, the extent of the membership, the endorsements enjoyed at the hands of standard-making bodies, the professional rating of the staff, and the type of social needs that are being met. The importance of weighting all of these indices was recognized. The degree to which each is attained by any organization deserves measurement also. The struggling for status was pointed out as being one of the leading tendencies of welfare organizations. Organizational status thus is conceived as an important sociological concept. Organizational emerging is not only followed by struggling for status but also by societal becoming. The achievement of a recognized place among societal organizations is a culminating point. In these processes of development are seen some of the characteristics of what might be called organizational personality. Social welfare organizations possess both impersonal characteristics and personality traits. A live discussion brought out many interesting points concerning organizational status and personality.

THE APRIL meeting of Alpha Kappa Delta (S.C.) was addressed by B. A. McClenahan on "Recent Developments in Community Organization." The speaker stressed that definitions of community may be classified according to six points of view: (1) As a local social unit; (2) As an ecological or natural unit; (3) As a legal, political or administrative unit; (4) As society in general; (5) As an ideal or mental unity; and (6) As a process.

Paralleling changes in concepts are changes in techniques of surveys and organization. Steiner's *The American Community in Action* is typical of the life-history method of studying communities, which represents a study of processes. Others have studied com-

munities in terms of culture and of culture areas, typified by Mrs. Pauline V. Young's study of the Molokans and the study of *Middletown* by R. S. and Helen M. Lynd. The study of attitudes toward the place of residence and local institutions represents a modified form of case study of the residents themselves. Professor E. L. Morgan of Missouri has studied the attitudes and relations of rural young people. Doctor J. H. Kolb of Wisconsin has studied vital interest groups, analyzing particularly the carrying power of a person's organizational affiliation; Dr. McClenahan, the attitudes of the residents of an urban neighborhood toward the area of their activities.

Changes have also taken place in the schemes of organization. Social agencies are coordinated on a wide scale. Regional surveys and community councils are becoming increasingly common in England and America. Various states are promoting statewide organizations and programs. Associations and vital interest groups, rather than geographic areas, increasingly constitute the units of organization. One of the chief objectives of community organization is to integrate personality and community.

Social Fiction Notes

"The highest moral purpose aimed at in the highest species of drama is the teaching the human heart, through its sympathies and antipathies, the knowledge of itself; in proportion to the possession of which knowledge every human being is wise, just, sincere, tolerant and kind."—SHELLEY

WINGS OVER EUROPE. A Three Act Play. By ROBERT NICHOLS and MAURICE BROWNE. Covici-Friede, New York, 1929, pp. 172.

The reported success of this new play on the New York stage is full of promise and hope for the intelligent theatre-goer, the spectator who repairs to the theatre with the implanted hope of seeing and hearing something which will stimulate and provoke thought and discussion upon matters of real import. The play is without a woman character and without, praise to this pair of playwrights, the usual triangle love affair. So long as this kind of drama strides the boards successfully, it may be safely predicted that the American theatre is still awake to its great possibilities.

While the theme may be somewhat remote in its scientific significance, the authors' portrayal of the selfishness of certain types of chauvinistic statesmen looms rather magnificently over the whole background of the drama. Here are gathered a group of the members of the British cabinets. Confronting them is a proposition made by a young scientist who has suddenly discovered the key to the universe. Lightfoot, scientist and incidentally, the nephew of the Prime Minister, has solved the mystery of the atom, and is announcing the tremendous potentialities of the revelation. Humanity at last will have its chance to gain real freedom and happiness. Release from the artificialities of the machine life which modern civilization has thrust upon mankind is promised. What could not man do if he were free from the oppression of material things! Will the cabinet members offer the chance to mankind? But each member is jealous of his individual role in the life of the nation's progress. Great is their dismay when they finally realize the offered gift will virtually make them at one with all their fellows. The mirrored

selves of these politicians are deftly revealed. Indeed, they have no intention of discarding their ambitions and life work. As ultra conservatives who are strenuously attached to things-as-they-are, they are placed in a most embarrassing position. We see them thrown into a dilemma by the announcement that the atomic secret may destroy as well as construct, and we see them plunged into the depths of despair by the threat of Lightfoot to destroy the world if they fail to give humanity the great chance to rise on wings with which to soar to a new kind of happiness. With the threatened disaster of but a few minutes to live upon them, the cabinet members lose control of themselves and their regard for each other. They reveal their inner motives and their estimates of each of their confreres. Here again, the authors give a fine picture of the pageantry of masks in the human processional.

One of the members, taking his cue from the desires of the others, solves the problem by shooting the scientist. Another, hearing that the League of Nations at Geneva is already informed of the secret, grabs the secret mechanism from the dead hands of Lightfoot, and rushes off to Geneva—probably to match things even and bargain for his share of power. The play is profoundly interesting, and will be noted, not for its discussion of scientific truths, but for its masterly portrayal of some of the motives which influence men to action.

M. J. V.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH



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